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TRAVELS

IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE

EAST;

MORE PARTICULARLY

PERSIA.

A work wherein the Author has described, as far as his own Observations extended, the State of those Countries in

1810, 1811, AND 1812;

and has endeavoured to illustrate many subjects of

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCH,

History, Geography, Philology and Miscellaneous Literature, with extracts from rare and valuable Oriental Manuscripts.

BY SIR WILLIAM OUSELEY, KNIGHT, LL. D.

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PRIVATE SECRETARY TO

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GORE OUSELEY, BARONET, K. L. S.

HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY AT THE COURT OF PERSIA.

VOL. II.

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Of this second volume the publication was long retarded by some events which the author could not possibly have anticipated; and by circumstances for which he feels himself responsible, and has endeavoured to account in the last article of the Appendix. That he might collect under one head whatever information respecting Persepolis could be obtained from Oriental sources hitherto not explored, the eleventh chapter has been protracted to a disproportionate extent; and renders this volume (which is not, however, dearer in price) more bulky than the former by sixty pages of letter-press, and nine plates. Of the third volume several sheets are already printed; and it will be published before the termination of this year (1821), if the author can fulfil his present intention.

Crickhowel, South Wales,
April 9, 1821.

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This volume contains, besides the map, thirty two plates, of which the last is numbered LV. It is intended to conclude the whole work with a general and copious Index; the place of which, is, in some degree, supplied at present, by the running title of each page.

* In p. 26, for *Seilaub* read *Síláb*. P. 99 for *Cainiaan* read *Caiánián*. P. 112, last line, for *si* read *is*. P. 131, note 44, for داداکرد read دارابکرد. P. 136, for *tákches* read *tákchehs*. P. 276, note 62, for 1764 read 1674.

* In Vol. 1. Pref. p. xi, for Περισκονι read Περσικον. Pref. p. xxiii, note 22, for 1666 read 1665. P. 323, for ﭺ read ﺦ. P. 421, for הכירה read הבירה.

TRAVELS

IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

OF

THE EAST.

CHAPTER VII.

First Residence at Shiráz.

DURING the ninth of April, arrangements were made for the Ambassador's introduction to Prince HUSEIN ALI MIRZA. Meanwhile I visited the objects most worthy of notice immediately near our camp. The *Jehán Nemá*, besides a garden-house or building at the gateway (already

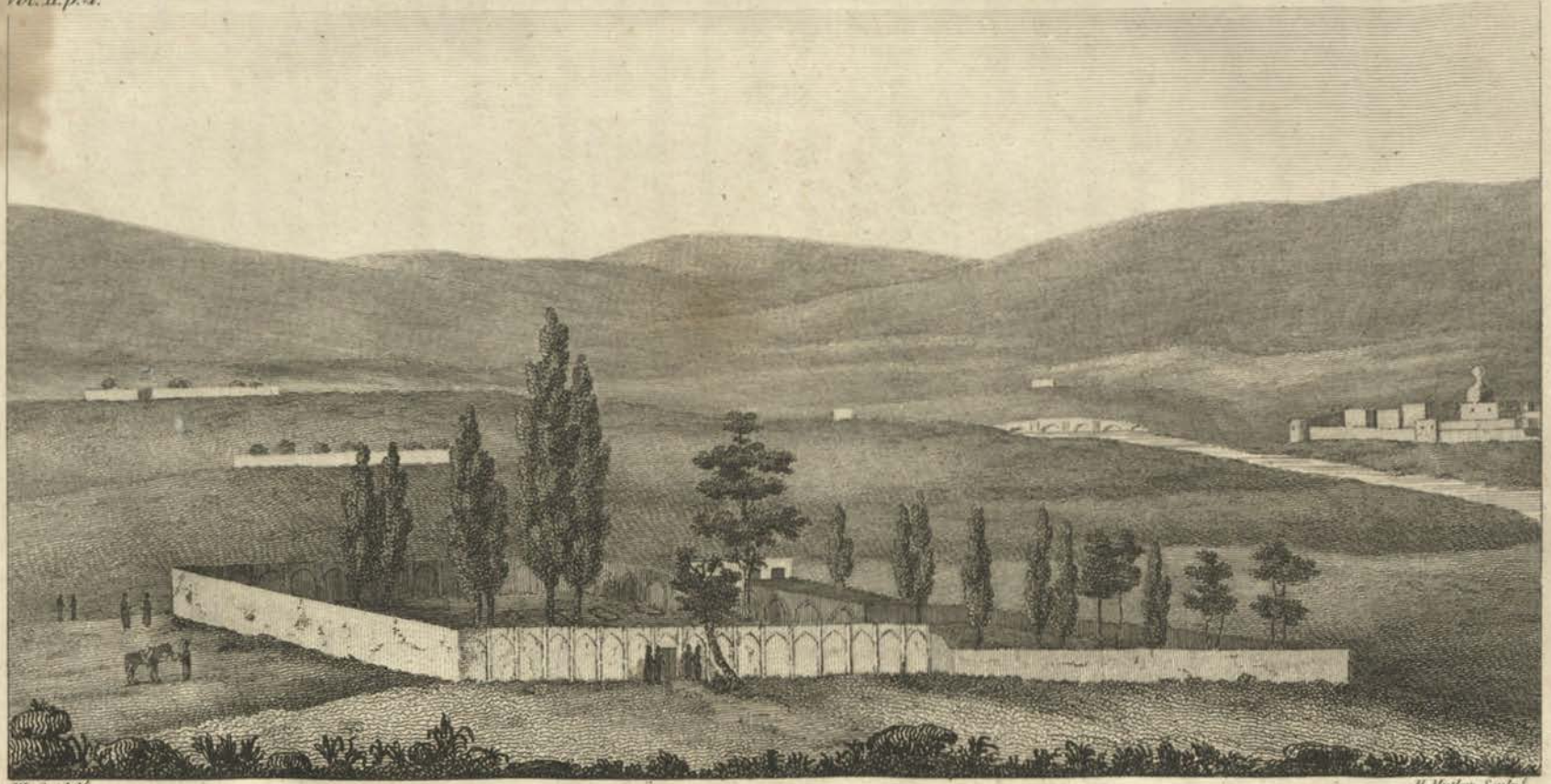
noticed) contains an extraordinary edifice, the *Kuláh Frangki* (کلاه فرنکي), so named from some resemblance in its projecting roof, to the hats which European travellers (or Franks) formerly wore. It is not singular, either in name or structure; there are many others in Persia, and I shall hereafter more particularly describe that, called also the "salt-cellar" or *nemekdan* (نمکدان), situate in one of the royal gardens near *Ispahán*. This of *Shiráz*, is embellished with many pictures, gaudily coloured, but defective in drawing, proportion and perspective; among the subjects are hunting scenes, and the romantick adventures of KHUSRAU, SHIRI'N and FERHA'D; also, a bridal procession which, being a minute though ridiculous representation of a real and interesting ceremony, I was induced to copy, and would have here given engraved, had not an illuminated picture, on the same subject, of equally minute detail, and far superior in execution, furnished me with the plate inserted and explained in another portion of this work. On the garden-walls, inside, are figures of kings and queens badly depicted in coloured tiles or glazed bricks; but several pieces have already fallen out, and none, probably, will be visible much longer; for to repair, is a custom almost unknown at present in this country.

Near the *Jehán Nemá* is a building called *Chehel Tan*, (چهل تن) "the forty bodies or persons." Another, the *Haft Tan* (هفت تن) or "seven persons," (from the number of holy

men there buried), is a summer-house with a garden and cypress-trees. In a room up-stairs, are the portraits of SAADI and HA'FIZ; modern pictures, and interesting only from the names they bear. It is most probable that they are works of mere imagination; yet in *Shíráz*, of which those poets are the pride and glory, and where they were born and died, some traces of their forms might be preserved. Such as they are, my sketches, accurately made from those pictures, and copied in the Miscellaneous Plate, annexed to this Volume, (Nos, 1, and 2), may gratify the curiosity of some; but will scarcely correspond to the ideas which Europeans would naturally form of personages so celebrated(1). A little below the *Haft Tan*, is a quadrangular piece of ground, called the *Háfiziah* (حافظیه), divided by a range of chambers into two parts; one facing the city, is a small garden; the other a court in which stands the Tomb of HA'FIZ; defiled however, by the proximity of several graves. From these, as I fancied, proceeded an offensive smell; but a Persian who accompanied me here one day, signifi-

(1) SAADI lived above an hundred years, and died in 1292. HA'FIZ died in 791, of the *Hijerah*, or of our era 1388; not 1340, as through some mistake Kæmpfer (Amœn. Exot. p. 370) and others have calculated. DOWLET SHÁH, however, the Persian Biographer, places the death of HÁFIZ in 794, (1391). Mr. Franklin has noticed the venerable SAADI's white beard, and the ample whiskers of HÁFIZ. (Tour to Persia, p. 39, Calcutta, 1788). And Mr. Scott Waring informs us that HÁFIZ was "originally drawn without mustachios; but some painter taking "offence at this appearance of want of manhood, supplied the defect, and has "entirely disfigured his countenance;" (Tour to Sheeraz, p. 38, Lond. 1807).

cantly pointing to the lazy Dervishes, who generally crowd the adjacent recesses, assured me that this bad smell or *bad-búi* (بد بوي), might be rather imputed to the living than the dead. The poet's monument formed of marble, delicately clouded, exhibits in admirable sculpture many of his own verses; it is about eight feet long, three feet and a half broad. Near it, within the walls, are a few stately cypresses; but of those trees so thickly planted on the outside, according to Kæmpfer's view, taken above an hundred years ago, (Amœn. Exot. p. 369), one only remains; this is opposite to the door, and appears in Plate XXIV, engraved from a drawing which I made at the *Jehán Nemá*, and which comprehends part of the city and the *Pul i Saadi* (پل سعدي) or "Bridge of *Saadi*," on the way leading to that poet's Tomb. The *Háfiziah* is built of brick; the wall which encloses the cemetery is ornamented on that side next the road with shallow niches, or arches filled up; the garden-wall is plain. In a chamber near his grave, are preserved the Poet's collected works or *Diván*, (ديوان) as a *vakf* (وقف) or religious endowment; but the volume containing them, however recommended by local associations, did not appear to me so valuable as many copies which I have elsewhere seen; or as either of two (very beautiful), out of five in my own collection. I do not even believe that it is the same book described by Pietro della Valle, (who visited the Tomb of HÁFIZ in 1622) as well written, ornamented with gold, and perfect.



W. O. del.t

H. Mutlow Sculp.t

Tomb of Hafiz.

The King, he adds, (SHAH ABBA's) had taken and kept at that time in his own Library, the autographical *Diván* of HAFIZ himself, which, according to report, had once been deposited where his body lies(2). But we have reason to doubt whether such a literary treasure ever existed(3). To KARÍM KHA'N, (كريم خان) who died in the year 1799, having governed Persia with wisdom and liberality, the inhabitants of *Shiráz* are indebted not only for the monument which now covers the original grave of their favourite poet; but for the adjacent garden; for the *Haft Tan*; also for the *Jehán Nemá*, and various other buildings, by the construction of which he improved the city and embellished its neighbourhood.

(2) "Si conserva quivi il libro di Hafiz, che lo intitola *Diuàn*, quasi congregatione, "ò Raccolta, bene scritto, con oro, & intero; ma non è quello che scrisse già "l' Autore di sua mano; il quale pur, vi era prima per quanto intendo; ma il Rè se "lo prese & hora lo tiene nella sua Libreria." Viaggi, &c. Lett. 16, (De 27. Luglio 1622).

(3) The Odes which HAFIZ had recited in convivial assemblies, or perhaps (as some imagine) on solemn occasions, were not collected during his life-time. The task of arranging his poems, scattered among various friends, if we may believe a Turkish commentator, was performed by one person, who disposed them as they now appear in the *Diván*. "Poemata Haphyzi sparsa antea at indigesta collegit atque in Divani "ordinem redegit Seid Kassim Envari." (See Reviczki's "Specimen Poeseos Persicæ," proœm. p. xxix). Or according to another account (p. xxi), by different survivors, who had been his auditors. This is confirmed by DOWLET SHAH, in his excellent Biography of the Persian Poets;

و بعد از وفات خواجه حافظ معتقدان و مصاحبان اشعار اورا مدون ساختند

"and after the death of KHUA'JAH HAFIZ, those who had been his companions and "disciples, collected and arranged his poems;" (MS. *Tezkirreh*).

To those who seek the *Musellá*, commemorated in that ode of HA'FIZ before quoted, (Vol. I. p. 318), and so beautifully paraphrased by Sir William Jones, some walls are shown, forming one end of an enclosure; a parallelogram, in length about one hundred and eighty feet, and in breadth forty-two, as I judged from measuring, by my paces, the foundation still visible. Of the walls which are standing, the lower part is faced with stone; above they are brick; and some of the fine cement covered with a dark blue varnish, yet remains. A block of marble, well carved in the *Arabesque* manner, and once, perhaps the ornament of an arch, has fallen, neglected among heaps of rubbish, on the outside of this edifice; which, we have reason to believe, was both spacious and handsome. I delineated its ruins as they appear in the Miscel. Plate (No. 3). It is situate not many hundred yards from the tomb of HA'FIZ; all the intermediate space, and probably a greater extent, belonged to the *Musella*, and this denomination included the cemetery, wherein to be interred near the poet's body, was considered by eminent persons, as an honourable privilege(1).

(1) Thus a celebrated Poet, TA'LEB JA'JERMI (طالب جاجرمي), who "died about "the year 854, (or of our era 1450), was interred by the side of KHUA'JAH HA'FIZ, "in the *Musella* of *Shiráz*,"

در حدود سنه اربع و خمسين و ثمانمايه وفات يافت و پهلوي خواجه حافظ در مصلي شيراز مدفونست

(MS. *Tezkirreh* of DOWLET SHA'H). But the *Musella* was an edifice dedicated to religious worship, and its cemetery contained the bodies of many distinguished

Through this tract run two streams; the *A'b-i-Miri* (اب میري) and the *A'b-i-Rukni* (اب رکني); these are occasionally turned into various channels by the Persians, who, in the management of water, either for domestick purposes, or for the irrigation of their lands, have at all times evinced considerable ingenuity. Across the *Ruknábád* (or *Rukni*, as it is generally called) I often stepped; but however small, it is more famed than many mighty rivers; having contributed with shrubs, flowers and trees, (of which not one vestige can now be found), and the querulous nightingale, or *bulbul* (بلبل), to render this a delightful spot, and justify HA'FIZ in his praise of the *Musella* and its rosy bowers. The air is said to be peculiarly pure and salubrious at this place, which even in its deteriorated condition, is frequented by the meaner citizens of *Shiráz*; who on summer evenings, come here in parties to chat, to smoke, and to eat lettuces dipped in the bubbling stream(5). But they rarely permit their wives or daughters to participate in these recreations.

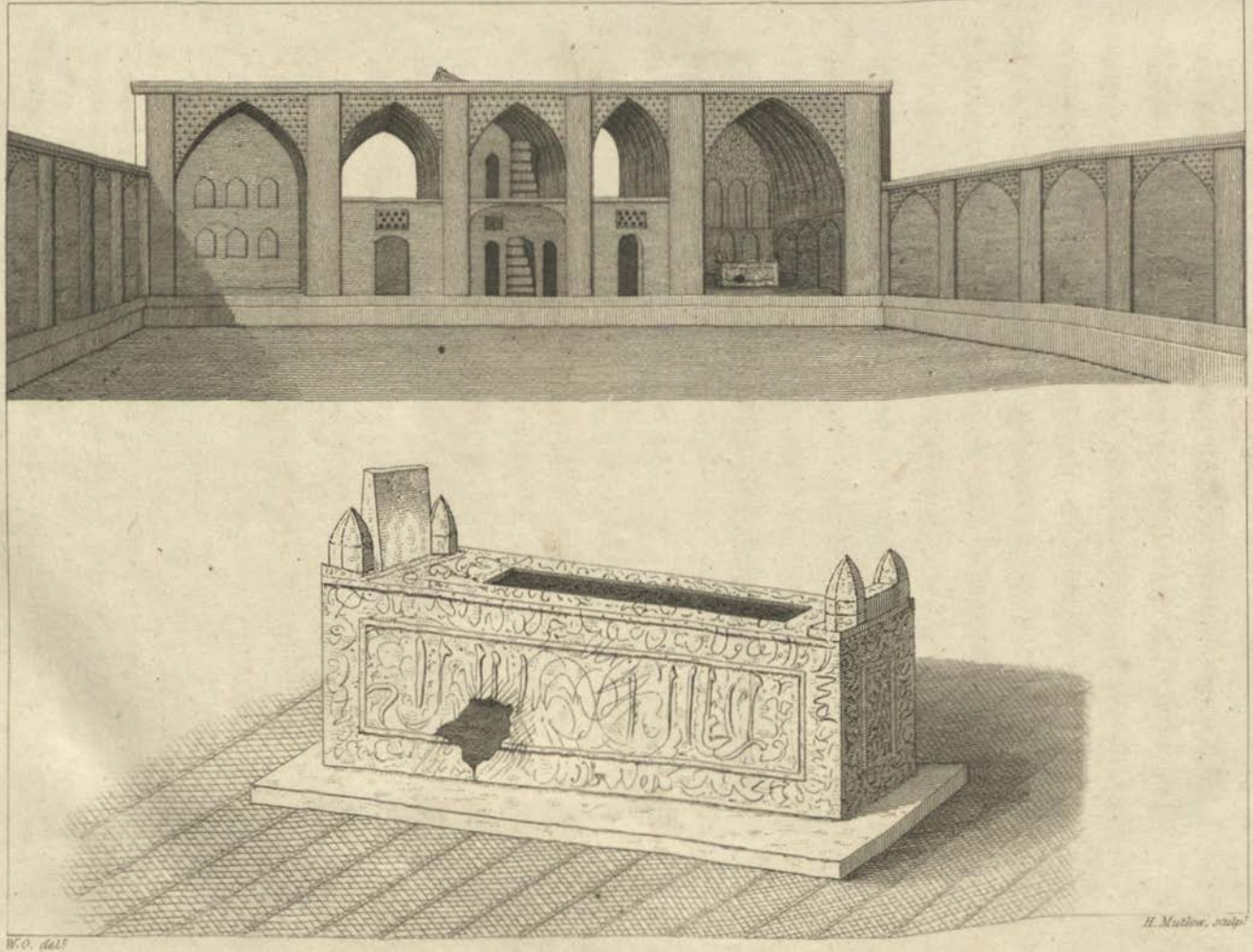
personages, long before HA'FIZ was born; this appears, from various anecdotes in the *Shiráz Námah*, composed, as I have reason to believe, about the middle of the fourteenth century; although by Kæmpfer, one of our best travellers, (Amœnit. Exot. p. 301), the author (SHEIKH ZARKU'B) is styled (in 1686), "recentissimus."

(5) و اب انجا از قنوات حاصل اید و بهترین کاریزها کاریزي است که رکن الدولت حسن بن بویه دیلمي احداث کرده است و اب کاریز مذکوررا اب رکناباد گویند

"*Shiráz* is supplied with water by means of *Kanáts* and *Karizes*, (subterraneous "conduits, and trenches or artificial-water-courses above ground). And the best of

About a mile from the *Hafiziah*, is a pleasant garden, now fast decaying, called the *Dil-gushá* (دلگشا); near which, are the remains of an old *caravanserai*, sometimes occupied by muleteers. A little beyond the garden is an *emáret* (عمارت) or edifice, containing the Tomb of SAA'DI; whose voluminous writings in Arabick and Persian, have procured him the highest reputation as a poet and a philosopher. The walls of this building were repaired and beautified by the munificent KARI'M KHA'N; but the tomb bears marks of injury, conspicuous on the side exposed to view from the court, as will appear in two sketches which I made on the spot (See Plate XXV). One represents the tomb only; this is entirely of stone, exhibiting inscriptions cut in large and small characters; it is, for the greater part, open at top, but a board, adapted by its shape as a cover, lay near it on the ground. In the other is delineated the inner front of the *emáret*; and SAADI's tomb is seen as it stands in a vaulted recess. A stair-case in the middle compartment leads to some chambers above. The entrance to the building is by a door-way in the opposite wall of the

"these is the *Kariz* which RUKN A'D DOULET HASSAN EBN BUIAH, a Prince of "the *Dilemite* race, first caused to be made; and this *Kariz* is denominated the "water, or stream of *Rukn abád*:" See the MS. Geographical *Khatmah* (خاتمه) or Appendix, which forms the eighth Volume of MIRKHOND's great work, entitled *Rauzet al Sefá*. That Prince from whom the stream derives its name, died in the year 366, (or of Christ 976), but according to the MS. *Shiráz Námah*, in 363.



W.O. del.

H. Mutlow, sculp.

Tomb of Saadi.

square, so very low, that in passing through it a person of moderate height must stoop almost double; it was so contrived that horsemen might not intrude. Near the walls, outside, by a descent of many steps, the visitor is conducted to a small building erected over a remarkable fountain or well, abounding with fish; the water is always cool; and delicious, if tasted at an early hour, before the people of an adjoining village contaminate it by their personal ablutions, and by the scourings of foul linen. This spot was formerly called *Kelát-i-Gázerán* (قلات كازران) in allusion to "bleacher's buckets," used here; and *Gázer-gáh* (كازر كاه), "the washers place;" but is now often dignified with the name of *Saadiah* (سعديه). Among the fishes I did not remark any of those which, as it was said, some enthusiastick admirers of *Saadi* had decorated with small gold rings; this, if ever, must have been done when to kill such creatures here, was reckoned an act of sacrilege which the deceased poet would himself punish with sudden death(6).

(6) "Le commun peuple tient ce poisson consacré à Cheic Sadi, et que si l'on en "prend, le Saint punit de mort subitement les coupables." (Chardin, Voyage, &c. Tome IX. p. 183. Rouen. 1723). "On n'oseroit y toucher," says Daulier Deslandes, "à cause qu'ils l'ont consacré à Cheik Saadi," &c. Beautez de la Perse, p. 70). See also Tavernier (Voy. Liv. V), and other travellers. Yet Chardin by means of a trifling bribe, so contrived that he and his friends the Carmelite Fathers carried off on different occasions, "un grand plat" of these consecrated fishes; although an unfortunate Armenian, (who must have neglected to bribe), was discovered while taking some, severely bastonadoed, and fined an hundred crowns. (Chard T. IX. 183).

To the man who guards the low door and shows the tomb, I once applied for information respecting an ancient manuscript, containing all the works of SAADI, and supposed to be preserved here. He produced two volumes, declaring that they were of the real *Khat-e-Sheikh* (خط شیخ) actually transcribed by the hand of that venerable sage himself(*). The imposition being immediately detected, he swore *be ser i Ali* (بسر علي) "by the head of ALI," that they had, at least, been copied from the originals. I found them however, to be the *Bustán*, and *Gulistán*, two only of SAADI's numerous compositions, very badly written, and of recent date; such manuscripts as the book-sellers of *Shiráz* and *Ispahán* daily offered at inconsiderable prices. The guardian of SAADI's Tomb, was, however, extremely civil; and contented with a trifling recompense for his trouble, in showing the place, and preparing *Caliáns* or tobacco-pipes for my companions and me. Belonging to his family, as we supposed, were two women, and four or five young girls, who appeared unconstrained and good-humoured; they did not conceal their faces; we thought some of them pretty, and all had fine dark eyes.

The time appointed for our introduction to the Prince, (the tenth of April), having arrived, we provided ourselves

(*) By the Persians in general, but particularly by those of *Shiráz*, SAADI is emphatically styled "the *Sheikh*," his name being seldom mentioned. Other learned men, however, enjoy this title; which is also given to the chiefs of tribes, and elders of families.

with *kafsh*, (کفش, slippers of green *sághri*, ساغري or shagreen) the wooden heels of which were shod with iron and nearly two inches high; we procured also the stockings called *chákshúr*, (چاقشور) made of crimson cloth; and silken garters wherewith to fasten them about the knees; such were the only articles of Persian court-dress that it was thought necessary for us to adopt on this occasion. Between eleven and twelve o'clock we set out on horse-back, accompanied by the *Mehmandár* ZEKI KHA'N, ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N and other noblemen, with their attendants; our own military escort, trumpeters, and a multitude of servants; and went in formal procession from the camp to the city. We passed through many narrow and filthy streets, and the fine *bazár* or *Market-place* of *Karím Khán*, where the people from all quarters had crowded together in their best apparel. Having reached the palace we alighted at the outer gate, and were led by the proper officers through a court lined with *tofangjis* (تفنگچي) or musketeers, whose dresses were by no means uniform, to an inner square planted with trees, where the Prince was seen, sitting in the corner of a *tálár* (تالار), a spacious and lofty hall with an open front. At various intervals after we had come within his view, until we approached the room in which he sat, the master of ceremonies stopped us, that we might make the due obeisances; himself each time, bowing so profoundly, that his turban almost touched the ground. We came at length, into the presence-chamber,

having left our slippers outside the door; and seated ourselves according to rank, in the cross-legged fashion, on *nammeds* (نمد already described in Vol. I. p. 267, as pieces of fine, soft felt) laid close to the wall, over the splendid carpet of this room. The Ambassador's place was at one extremity of a long *nammed* which the Prince occupied at the other. There was a perfect silence during some moments; the Prince then, with a very loud voice, pronounced the usual form of welcome, "*khúsh ámedíd*" (خوش امدید); after which the Ambassador introduced the English gentlemen, mentioning their respective names and situations in the Embassy.

As we entered the outer court, I had observed several women gazing at us from the roof of some apartments; their number seemed increased when we took our seats in the *Diván Khánah* (دیوان خانه), or hall of audience, and above thirty had assembled in a balcony at the opposite end of the square. They were wrapped in fine white *Chádrs*, (چادر, veils or rather sheets); and even their eyes could scarcely be discerned. Some, it was said, belonged to the Prince's establishment, and others to his mother's, the Queen's.

Meanwhile, the acting *Vazír* and other courtiers in their robes of ceremony, remained in the open square, without any shelter from the meridian sun; standing in most respectful attitudes at a little distance. The Prince, however, sometimes interrupted his conversation with the

Ambassador, by addressing a few sentences in his praise, to the *Vazír*, and these were uttered so audibly that all present might hear them. The minister replied by a repetition, and tenfold exaggeration of the same praises, recited like a speech previously learned by rote.

While *Caliâns* (the smoking-pipes already noticed in Vol. I. Appendix), and coffee were presented to us, the Prince enquired particularly after the health of his "uncle;" so he always styled the King of England; and asked the Ambassador many questions relative to America, (called by the Turkish name of *Yangidunia*, the "new world"), concerning which the Persians evince much curiosity, and an equal degree of ignorance. He spoke on many subjects; and declared his high opinion of ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, whom he complimented on his conduct as Envoy to our court; but the KHA'N, who during this interview stood, like a statue, near the door, (within the room), had sufficient reason, from some late occurrences, to doubt the sincerity of those professions.

The Prince, HUSEIN ALI MIRZA, appeared to be in his twenty-second or twenty-third year; affable and elegant in manners, and extremely handsome; his waist long and taper; the girdle being worn very low, according to a fashion among the younger Persians; who in this, as in wearing the cap on one side, or pushed backwards,

and other points of dress, have shown that Europeans are not the only coxcombs. He was richly decorated with pearls; and the *bázu bands* (بازو بند) which encircled his arms, must have been of considerable value, if the jewels set in them might be estimated from their size and brilliancy. His *Calián* was also splendidly ornamented with gold and precious stones(*). Near him sat a little boy, five or six years old, one of his brothers, who behaved with the utmost gravity. Our visit lasted about half an hour; and we, having resumed our slippers outside the door, retired, making obeisances whilst within the Prince's view, at certain intervals, as when we entered.

There is something in the ceremony of introduction at an Eastern Court, that appears theatrical; from the magnificence and variety of dresses, and the very form of the open-fronted hall generally the scene of action with its pillars and the curtain, often hanging in festoons above. The Plate (XXVI), engraved from a sketch which I made on my return to the camp, and corrected after subsequent visits to the palace, will give some idea of our interviews with HUSEIN ALI MIRZA, and with the other princes, to whom on various occasions we were presen-

(*) It was not above two or three years since he had received the King's permission to smoke during audiences of ceremony; a gentleman of our party, informed me that he happened to be at *Shiráz* when the Royal *Firmán* (فرمان) arrived which authorized Prince HUSEIN ALI to assume publickly this privilege of manhood.

W. O. del.t J. Walker Sc.

Persian Prince's Levee.

ted; for there was but little difference in ceremonies or in the general appearance of the open-fronted halls. It may be here observed, that they, like the King their father, generally appoint for the reception of Ambassadors, such an hour as, according to the season, or the intended room of audience, will best enable them to display in full sun-shine, the brilliancy of their jewels; a custom which we might trace to very early ages. The title of "bright" or "resplendent," was added to the name of one sovereign, because his regal ornaments glittering in the sun's rays on a solemn festival, (celebrated above eight hundred years before our era, as Sir William Jones calculates, or above three thousand, as Monsieur Bailly imagines), so dazzled the eyes of all beholders, that they scarcely could bear the effulgence; and some knew not which was the Monarch, or which the great luminary of day(°). Thus Theophylact, an Historian who flourished

(°) FIRDAUSI having mentioned the jewels which profusely decorated the throne and person of JEMSHI'D, during the great festival called *Nawrúz*, compares him when seated in royal state چو خورشید تابان میان هوا to the "Sun shining amidst the heavens;" (*Shâhnâmah*). The *Parsí* of *Surat*, who by desire of an English gentleman, abridged FIRDAUSI'S great Poem into prose, ascribes the blaze of glory that surrounded JEMSHI'D, to divine irradiation. "The light of the Sun and "the light of that Monarch appearing in the same place, no person knew which "was the sun, or which was JEMSHI'D."

نور افگاب و نور جمشید یکجا نمودي کسي ندانستي که این افتاب است و ان جمشید است

(MS. *Shah Nameh Nesr*: Brit. Mus. Hyde, Royal, B. xiv). According to another manuscript, the *Zein al akhbár*, which in a very curious chapter describes the Magian ceremonies and festivals, it was on the *Nuwrúz* or vernal equinox that

about six centuries after Christ, relates that the Persian King HORMISDAS, sitting on his throne, astonished all spectators by the blazing glories of his jewels; and King Agrippa was almost regarded as a God, so powerfully did his ornamented dress reflect the morning sunbeams; as we learn from the Jewish writer, Josephus(10).

Jemshid, having triumphed over the blacks and the *Dives* or demons, caused immense quantities of jewels obtained as spoils from the enemy, to be piled upon his throne, so that all might behold them. "As the sun shone through the windows on those "jewels, and the gold, his whole palace was illuminated by their reflected brilliancy; "and on this account he was surnamed *Sheid*, which in the *Parsi* dialect signifies "Splendour," and the sun for this reason, also, is called *Khúr-sheid*; *Khúr* being "the solar orb, and *Sheid* "bright or splendid."

و افتاب از روزن اندر افتاد و بر ان جواهر و زر و همه خانه از عکس ان روشن کشت
بدین سبب اورا شید لقب کردند و شید بپارسي روشناي بود و افتاب را بدین
سبب خورشید کونید که خور قرص افتاب باشد و شید روشن

It appears from the MS. *Berhán Katteá* in (نوروز) that JEMSHID desirous of displaying his jewels most advantageously, caused his throne to be placed in such a manner "facing the East," (رو بجانب مشرق) that when the rising sun beamed on his splendid crown, the multitude exclaimed "this is the dawn of a new day."

(10) Theophyl. Simoc. (Lib. IV, cap. 3). Joseph. Antiq. Jud. (Lib. XIX, cap. 7). It appears that Agrippa's robe produced the effect of jewels; being wholly embroidered, or interwoven in a wonderful manner with silver, στολην ενδυσάμενος εξ αργύρου πεποιημένην πασαν, ως θαυμάσιον νφὴν ειναι &c. The flatterers, however, of some Kings, wished to persuade them that their splendour was not caused by artificial means, but proceeded from a ray of divine light beaming in their eyes, or pervading their persons; a ray too strong for the opticks of common mortals. Several Persian authors allude to the "light" which, as KHONDEMI'R, the son of MI'RKHOND, says in both his historical works, نوري از روي جمشيد ميدرخشيد "flashed from the face of "JEMSHI'D;" (See the MSS. *Habíb al Seir*; and *Khelásat ul Akhbár*). See also what more authentick writers have related concerning other Sovereigns. Of Julius Cæsar, Dio; of Augustus, Suetonius; and of Attila, Priscus. The "nimbus effulgens" of Virgil (Æn. II. 616) will occur to the classical reader; whom, respecting *glories* in pictures, I refer to the Appendix.

I remarked, on our entrance into the Prince's palace, that picture of RUSTAM (رستم) contending with the *Dív-i-Sefíd* (دیو سفید) or "White Giant," which an ingenious traveller has well described as "done in very lively "colours,"—"the figures are at full length, but ill propor-"tioned"(11). It has not, indeed, any recommendation but the subject; which is among the Persians such a favourite as we may suppose one of Hercules's labours to have been among the Greeks; it presents itself in many other palaces, and the principal buildings of different cities, and in illuminated *picture*-manuscripts, particularly the fine copies of FIRDAUSI'S SHA'H NA'MAH(12).

The City of *Shiráz* seems rapidly hastening to decay, and most of its publick structures, once very numerous, are in a state of ruin or of neglect. The chief *Masjed* (مسجد) or Mosque, founded by ATA'BEG SHA'H (اتابک شاه), is a grand edifice, about one hundred and fifty yards square; and has, for above six centuries, borne the name

(11) "At the door of the ark is a painting, representing the combat between the "celebrated Persian hero Rostum, and Deeb Sifeed, or the White Demon," &c. Francklin's Tour to Persia, p. 23. Calc. 1788.

(12) Most of those pictures that I have seen, nearly agree in the representations of RUSTAM and the *Dív*. What ideas the Persians entertain of their chief hero, and his monstrous antagonist, may be ascertained on reference to an engraving, given in the "Oriental Collections," (Vol. II. p. 53), and taken from a picture in one of my illuminated *Sháh Námahs*; but it is certain that RUSTAM was famous in Romance long before the tenth century when FIRDAUSI composed this work. See the Appendix.

of *Masjed-e-naw* (مسجد نو) or the "New Mosque." There are, as I heard, nearly sixty other places of religious worship; and the late chief ruler, KARI'M KHA'N, had at the time of his death, almost completed a capacious Mosque, embellished, according to report, with a tesselated pavement of beautiful marble, besides seventy columns of stone; this is the *Masjed-e-Vakíl*. Of the *madrassehs* (مدرسه) or colleges, comprised within the city, and amounting, as some said, to forty; several are totally abandoned, and the others but thinly attended by students. One of the most celebrated is the *Madrasseh-i-Khán*, containing an hundred and three cells or chambers. The Citadel, called the Ark or *Areg*, (ارک), (a name which may remind us of the latin word *arx*[13], comprising the palace, *Diván-Khánah*, many fountains and reservoirs of water (*háwz* حوض and *barkah* برکه); and various baths; are all memorials of the illustrious KARI'M KHA'N, who exercised the fullest powers of a King, under the inferior title of *Vakíl* (وکیل). The *Hammám i Vakíl*, which he constructed near his mosque already mentioned, is the finest of sixty or seventy baths frequented by the citizens. But the *Bazár* erected by him is the glory

(13) That the ancient kings placed their habitation in the *arx* or citadel for safety, we learn from Servius (in Virg Æn. IV. 410). "Regium enim fuit habitare in arcibus propter tutelam." *Arg* or *Areg* (ارک) signifies a small castle constructed within a large fortress. قلعه کوچکي باشد که در میان قلعه بزرک سازند MS. *Berhan Kattea.*

of *Shiráz*, and unequalled throughout the empire. It is a spacious and lofty street, covered by a handsome vaulted roof, and divided, as a Persian assured me, into fifteen hundred shops. How much this account was exaggerated, I had not patience to ascertain by actual enumeration; but the *Bazár i Vakíl* (بازار وکیل) is a building of considerable extent, and would prove an ornament to the capital of any country.

This City possesses within its precincts the remains of an hundred *Imám Zádahs*, according to local information; but of those pious Mohammedans, whom many here regarded as Saints, whatever opinion others may entertain, (See Vol. I. p. 176, 177), the number is reduced to sixty, by the more accurate statement of MIRZA JA'N(14). Their tombs, of which I saw several, were mostly small edifices of brick or clay, and of mean appearance. Some were surmounted by domes, and two or three seemed occupied by *dervishes* (درویش), or other persons engaged in prayer and meditation. A little outside the walls are many cemeteries distinguished respectively by the names of remarkable personages; most are shaded by a few trees; and over or near the principal

(14) MIRZA JA'N (میرزا جان) or, as generally called, MIRZA JOON, a native of *Shiráz*, and a very ingenious man of letters, resided in that city when we arrived there. He thence accompanied to *Isfahán* my friend Captain Lockett, through whose kindness I possess the account of that journey, written by the *Mirza* himself.

grave, there is a brick building, which forms the *takkiah* (تكيه), a lodging or resting-place for pilgrims. Such is that called *Sháhzádah Mohammed* (شاه زاده محمد); another is the *Sháh Dáï* (شاه داي) with a garden, about one mile, southward, from the city. This SHÁH DA'I was not only a saint, (the reader must pardon me for the frequent misapplication of a title which should claim our respect); he was also a poet; according to MI'RZA JA'N; whose manuscript journal notices a stream of excellent water running near the tomb; and opposite to this, he adds, is an ample "burial-ground, named *Derb-i-Salm*, one "of the most ancient spots in the vicinity of *Shiráz*[15].

The *Khátún-e-Kyámet* (خاتون قيامت) does not contain many relicks of holy men; it is, however, a large building, situate towards the south-eastern extremity of the city; in a place celebrated for good water and pure air; the dome is of coloured tile-work, and said to be six hundred years old. Near the *Hafiziah* is a considerable edifice, named, from the *Imám Zádah*, who reposes in it, *Sháh Mír Ali Hamzah* (شاه مير علي همزه), conspicuous with its glazed cupola. Behind, is another *Imám Zádah*, the *Mír Mohammed*, (ميرمحمد); these are two of the cemeteries belonging to *Shiráz*. Not far from

(15) محاذي بقعه شاه دايي موسوم بدرب سلم و از جمله مكانهاي قديم شيراز ميباشد
MS. Journal of MIRZA JA'N.

them is the *Takkiah* of MOHAMMED RAHI'M KHA'N (محمد رحیم خان) handsomely built of brick. It derives its name from the person whose body it contains; the son of KARI'M KHA'N; to this building are annexed a bath and a *caravanserai*.

Other *takkiahs*, and graves of pious and learned men, may be seen in this neighbourhood; their number indeed is considerable; and Kæmpfer, no very modern traveller, mentions a work describing them, and entitled from its subject, *Hazár ve yek mezár*, or "The Thousand and One Tombs"(16). But *Shiráz* will not reward those who seek for vestiges of remote antiquity; the boast of an early origin is not supported by any monuments; and sober

(16)—"Multa seges sepulchralium, quæ virorum ex omni ævo doctissimorum exuvias condunt, mille et unum recenset auctor Libri qui inscribitur, هزار و یک مزار "*Hasaar we jek mesaar*, i. e *mille et unum mausolea*," (Amœn. Exot. p. 368). A "thousand and one" is a favourite number in the East. Olivier mentions ruins at Larenda, near *Konieh*, Iconium), called the "thousand and one churches." Voyages, Tome vi. p. 386. (Par. 1807. oct). I saw at Constantinople, the remarkable cistern of "a thousand and one pillars." Those delightful tales are universally known which Galland translated into French, and Dr Scott into English, from different copies of the genuine Arabick work, entitled (الف لیلة و لیلة) "the thousand and one nights." On the plan of those tales, a Persian author composed the *Hazár Yek Rúz* (هزار یک روز) or "thousand and one days," a collection of entertaining stories, of which Petis de la Croix published a French translation, sufficiently accurate, although differing in some proper names from my manuscript containing part of the original work. Thus the fair REPSIMA, of "Les mille et un jour," (jour 958), is styled ARUIAH (اروبه) in my copy; and her husband goes to *Misr* (مصر) or Egypt, not to the "côte des "Indes," as in the printed translation. I have marked some other instances of the title "one thousand and one," but the notice is mislaid, and they do not at present occur to my recollection.

inquiry assigns its foundation to the seventh century of our era. That it was built by a cousin of HEJA'GE BEN YUSUF, we learn from EBN HAUKAL; or by a brother, as SHEIKH ZARKU'B informs us(17). Whether attributed to a brother or a cousin of the tyrant HEJA'JE(18), the date of its construction seems thus ascertained by HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI(19). "One tradition relates that "it was originally erected by TAHMURAS DI'VEBAND, "(the conqueror of Demons), and fell to ruin; there is "also a report that in former ages, this territory was "denominated *Fars*, (or *Pars*) after the son of THU'R, "the son of SA'M (Shem) the son of Noah, on whom "be the peace of God! But according to accounts the "most authentick, MOHAMMED BEN YUSUF THAKIFI, "the brother of HEJA'JE BEN YUSUF, either founded, or "repaired it in *Muselman* times; whilst another tradition

(17) Orient. Geogr. of EBN HAUKAL (p. 101). MS. *Shiráz Námah* of SHEIKH ZARKU'B; Sect. 3.

(18) See an account of this monster's life, compiled and translated from the best oriental authorities, by Major Price, in his excellent work, the "Chronological Retrospect of Mahommedan History." Vol. I. p. 448–481.

(19) برو ايتي شيرازرا طهمورث ديوبند ساخته بوده خراب شده و بقولي ان زمين در زمان سابق فارس نام داشته و بفارس بن ثور بن سام بن نوح عليه السلام منسوبست و اصح انكه در زمان اسلام محمد بن يوسف ثقفي برادر حجاج بن يوسف ساخت يا تجديد عمارتش كرد و بروايتي عمزاده ش محمد بن قاسم بن ابي عقيل تجديد كرد و تاريخ عمارتش سنه اربع و سبعين هجري بطالع سنبله

MS. *Nozhat al Colúb.* (Geogr. ch. 12).

"ascribes its restoration to the son of HEJA'JE's uncle, "MOHAMMED BEN CA'SIM BEN ABI OKEIL, in the seventy-"fourth year of the *Hijerah*; (A. D. 639), under the "propitious sign of the Virgin"([20]).

By ZAKARIA CAZVI'NI, HA'FIZ ABRU', and other writers, the name of *Shiráz* is derived from a son of TAHMURAS, above mentioned, one of those early Sovereigns, whose history is clouded with fable. But a rare Manuscript informs us that the city was called from "*Shiráz*, a word in the old Persick language, signifying "Lion's paunch;" because all the wealth of every town "in the same region was transported to *Shiráz*, and none "returned thence to any other place"([21]).

([20]) That the celestial bodies exercised a powerful influence over human affairs the ancients appear, almost universally, to have believed. This might be proved by a multiplicity of examples; here I shall only quote Plutarch, who having mentioned the month and day when Rome was founded, the planetary conjunction and the eclipse which then occurred, and having calculated the nativity of Romulus, immediately adds; "for the fortunes of cities as of men, have certain periods regulated "from their very beginnings, according to the positions of the stars." Επει και πόλεως τύχην, ωσπερ ανθρωπου, κύριον 'εχειν, οίονται χρόνον, 'εκ της πρώτης γενεσεως πρὸς τας των αστέρων 'εποχὰς θεορουμενον. (Plut in Romulo). The course of this work will give me occasion to notice the heavenly signs under which other Persian cities were founded; as they are, with much seeming accuracy, recorded by Eastern writers. To describe Virgo, which presided over *Shiráz*, HAMDALLAH, in the passage above quoted, uses (by a Synechdoche), the word *Sumbulah*, signifying that "ear of "corn," which the Virgin appears to hold, as she is represented in some Eastern pictures of the Zodiack.

([21]) و شيراز بزبان اهل فرس يعني شكم شير جهت انک تمامت شهرها كه
دران ناحيت و اقليم است مالهاي ايشان جمله بشيراز نقل مي شود و از انجا
بهيچ موضعي ديكر حمل نمي افتد

MS. *Súr al Beldán.*

We learn from HA'FIZ ABRU', that "in the beginning "of *Islam*, or Mohammed's religion, whilst the Arabian "troops were fighting at *Istakhr* (or Persepolis), their "camp covered the spot where *Shiraz* now stands"(22). "Having taken *Istakhr*," says another writer, "they "came to this place of encampment, and built the "city, which is in extent about one *farsang*, (or between "three and four miles) and without walls"(23). This account was composed in the tenth century of our era; but it appears that fortifications were soon after erected. According to HAMDALLAH, *Shirâz* became so populous during the reign of AZZED AD DOULAH, (who died in the year of Christ, 982), that he could not find there sufficient room for the accommodation of his army; he built therefore in front, a town or village where his troops might be quartered, and gave the name of (فنا خسرو كرد) *Fena-Khusrau gird* to this place, generally called by the people *Súk al Emír* (سوق الامير) or the "Prince's market," which flourished so considerably as to produce an annual revenue of twenty thousand *dinárs*, or pieces of gold; but it is now destroyed. "SHIRA'Z, until the time of SAMSAM AD'DOULEH, son of

(22) و در ابتدا اسلام بوقتي كه لشكر عرب با اصطخر جنگ ميكردند لشكركاه خود بدين موضع ساخته بودند كه حالا شيراز است MS. *Tarikh i Hafiz Abrú.*

(23) چون اصطخررا فتح مي كردند در انجا فرودامدند و لشكركاه ساختند و شهري را بنياد نهادند بقدر يک فرسنک فراخي ان وهيچ سور دران نمي باشد MS. *Súr Beld.*

(AZZED AD' DOULEH), had been without ramparts. He, to "defend the city against enemies, constructed a wall, in cir- "cumference twelve thousand five hundred paces"([24]). This, according to the same author, was repaired by SHARF AD'DI'N MAHMU'D, (شرف الدین محمود); and some old walls were standing in the year 1627, when Sir Thomas Herbert visited *Shiráz*; these had nearly disappeared in 1665, as Tavernier informs us; and we learn from Chardin, that at the time of his residence there (1669), the city was no longer surrounded by walls; these had fallen to decay, although the gates remained([25]).

The present fortifications are modern; KARIM KHA'N encompassed *Shiráz* with towers and walls; most of these were pulled down, and others built by AGA (or ÀKA) MOHAMMED KHA'N (آقا محمد خان) uncle of the king now reigning; the space inclosed is probably from four to five miles in circumference; but many parts of the city are very scantily inhabited; and I passed one day through the southern quarter which seemed to be in a state of absolute depopulation. Whatever may be the exaggerated estimate of natives, I am

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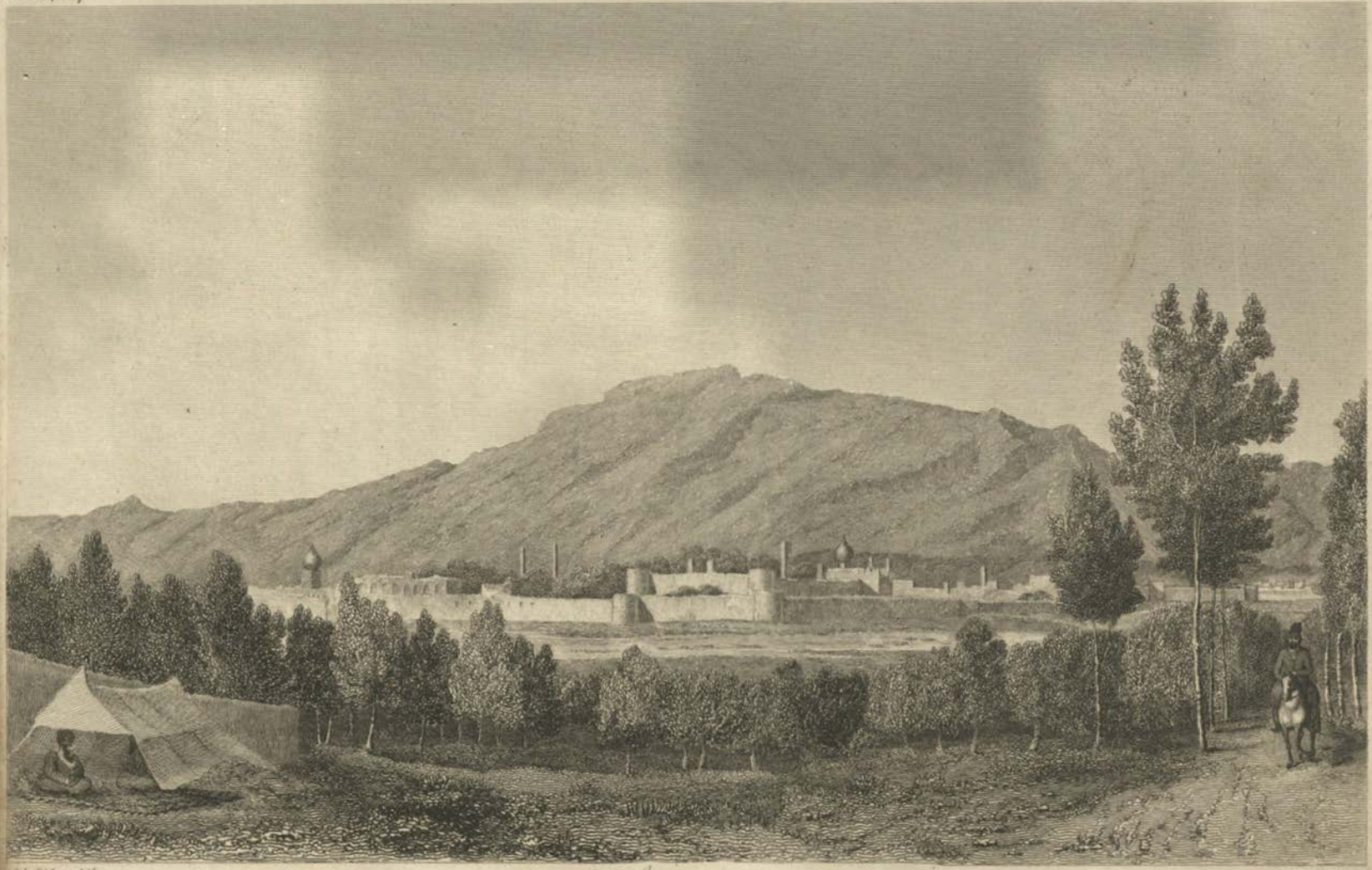
([24]) و شیرازرا تا زمان صمصام الدوله بن عضد الدوله بارو نبود او بجهت دفع اعدا بارو کشید دورش دوازده هزار و پانصد کامست MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*. Geogr. ch. 12.

([25]) See Herbert's "Travels," p. 136, (3d. edit. 1665) Tavernier's "Voyages de Perse." Liv. V. chap. 21 Chardin's "Voyage en Perse." Tome IX. p. 175. (Rouen 1723). *Shiráz* was without walls in 1677. (Fryer's Trav. p. 248).

inclined from my own observations, confirmed by the opinion of intelligent friends, to rate the number of persons resident within the walls, as under thirty, and perhaps not much exceeding twenty thousand.

In the fourteenth century *Shirâz* had nine gates, of which the names are recorded by HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI, who then compiled his Geographical Treatise. There were in the sixteenth century, twelve gates according to the *Ajaieb al Gheraïeb* (عجايب الغرايب), a manuscript dated 1569. One hundred years after, four only remained, which Chardin has enumerated; and, in 1811, I counted six. Of these the *Derwázeh Cazerún*, or "Cazerún Gate," alone retains its original appellation; it is among the nine mentioned by HAMDALLAH; and, before him, was noticed by SAADI in one of those poetical compositions, which have exposed the memory of that celebrated Philosopher to charges of extreme impurity; whilst, in honour of his name, another gate is now entitled *Derwázeh i Saadi*.

On the road leading from this gate to his Monument, is a bridge called the *Pul i Saadi* (پل سعدي), which appears in the view, (Plate XXIV), built over a *Seilaub* (سيلاب), or channel, often nearly destitute of water, but at some seasons liable to considerable inundations from winter-rains, or the dissolution of snow on the neighbouring mountains; there is also a bridge, erected by KARI'M KHA'N,



Col. D'Arcy del.

H. Meadow. sculpt.

Shiráz.

over this uncertain stream which runs a few miles towards the South-East, and is lost in the salt lake of *Máhlú* (ماهلو). The *Rúd Kháneh Zangi* (رودخانه زنكي) near the *Chehel tan*, is a river-bed, generally dry. The *A'b-i-Rukn-abád*, and other little brooks have been already mentioned; but the city is chiefly supplied with water by *Canáts* or subterraneous conduits(26).

The prospect of *Shiraz* from a rising ground on the *Isfahán* road, is, I believe, the most favourable; although the intermediate space exhibits but faint vestiges of those gardens and buildings that once rendered it so rich and beautiful a scene, according to the view taken in 1664 by Daulier Deslandes, and the reports of other travellers; and we can only trace the multiplicity of cypresses which excited their admiration, in the few still preserved near the tombs of certain holy men(27). Plate XXVII, engraved after a

(26) *Canát* or *Canuát* (قنوات), plural of قناة.

(27) See the View given by Deslandes in his "Beautez de la Perse." p. 66. See also p. 69 wherein he celebrates the number and size of the cypress trees, "je ne croy pas "qu'il y ait lieu au monde ou il y ait tant et de si gros cyprez, plantez en belle ordonnance," &c. His View is taken from the *Tang i Allahakbar* (تنگ الله اكبر) or narrow pass of *Allah akbar* between two hills on the *Isfahán* road. He has represented the arch which Pietro della Valle had noticed before him; "Questo Arco "occupa in quel luogo angusto tutta la strada da monte a monte; lo chiamano per cio "*Tenghe el Ekbar*," &c. (Lettera de 21 di Ottobre 1621). SAADI, after a long absence from his native city, speaks with rapture of gazing on it once more from the eminence of *Allah akbar*. خوشا سپيده دمي باشد انكه بينم باز
رسيده بر سر الله اكبر شيراز
See in his *Diván* the ode beginning with this couplet. The name, *Allah akbar*,

beautiful drawing made by Major D'Arcy, represents *Shiráz* seen from the *Takht-i-Cajar*, a royal palace which I shall again have occasion to notice as it was the Ambassador's residence during a space of nearly three months. There is not perhaps, any other spot near *Shiráz*, where so many trees could be comprehended in a view of that city. Those in the fore-ground belong to the palace above-mentioned.

That some writers ascribe the foundation of *Shiráz* to very ancient times I have already shown, and that their assertions are not justified by the evidence of monuments now existing within the walls; neither are any described as visible there, by Asiaticks or Europeans of respectabilty. Even SHEIKH ZARKU'B, the native historian of this city, is not able to trace its origin beyond the seventh century, according to a passage before extracted from his *Shiráz Námáh*, and another which informs us, that according to ancient records, "*Shiráz* had been at first, a tract "of uneven ground, neglected and uncultivated, where "once, every year, the kings and chiefs of Persia were "accustomed to assemble; saying, the *Súmaa* of Solomon,

signifies "God is most great," and may have been derived, as Kæmpfer imagines, from the involuntary exclamation of those who having toiled through sandy deserts, unexpectedly behold from this spot the beauties of *Shiráz*; "non possunt quin verbis et "votis in τὸ *Allah ekbar*, i-e," sit laus Deo! erumpant," (Amœnit. Exot. p. 367). In 1705 the edifices of *Allah akbar* had mostly fallen to decay, as appears from a view and description given in the "Voyages de Corneille Le Brun" p. 294. 301. (Amst. 1718. folio).

"the prophet, (on whom be the peace and blessing of "God), was situate here: and this they considered as "an auspicious circumstance. The city of *Istakhr* was "then the Royal capital and seat of government in *Fars*, "and until the time of MOHAMMED BEN YUSEF," who, as we have seen, founded *Shiráz*(28).

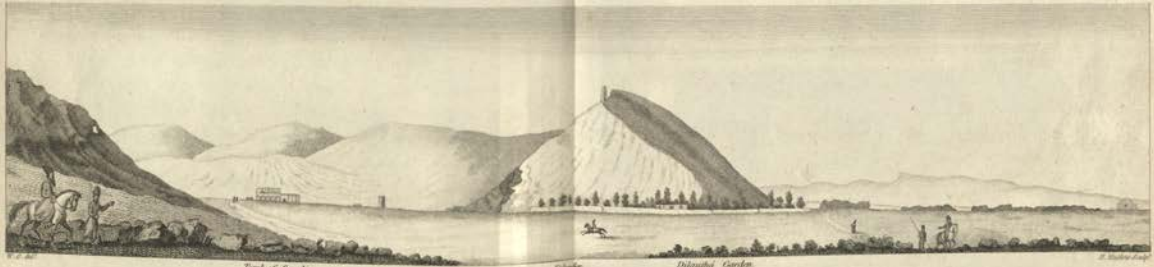
Of the Princes anterior to him, the only certain vestiges that I could discover in the vicinity, were remains of an edifice; probably the *súmaa* above noticed; and some figures carved in a neighbouring rock; the representations, perhaps, of those illustrious personages, who, as SHEIKH ZARKUB has informed us, assembled annually at this tract of land. There is a third object well worthy of examination, the castle of *Fahender* (فهندر), once exceedingly strong, both by nature and art; but now in such a state of decay that no criterion exists from which its age can be determined. It is, if we may credit local tradition, not inferior to the others in antiquity; and, as nearest the city, I shall describe it first; proceeding thence in the

(28) بدانکه قدما و اصحاب تواریخ متفق الکلمه اند که شهر شیراز در اوایل قطعه زمین بوده بایر و معطل و سطحي نامستقیم و نا هموار ملوک عجم و شهریاران ایران زمین هر سال یکنوبت بران قطعه زمین حاضر امدندي و کفتندي که صومعه سلیمان نبي عم درین جاي بوده و انرا بر خود فال میدانستند و در انوقت دارالملک و سریر السلطنة و مقام خلافت در خط فارس شهر اصطخر بوده تا بزمان محمد بن یوسف

MS. *Shiráz Namáh.*

order of my visits to the *Throne of the Mother of Solomon*, (perhaps the *sumaa*); and the sculptured rock.

The castle of *Fahender* stands east-ward of *Shiráz* at the distance of about two miles, on a mountain, the extreme summit of which was once covered with its walls. In coming from the *Hafiziah* I stopped to sketch the distant appearance of this castle, as Le Brun who above a century ago, delineated it with much exactness, took his view amongst the very ruins. In the annexed Plate (XXVIII), I have included (on the left) part of the *Kúh Gahwáreh-Dív*, (کوہ گہوارہ دیو) or "mountain of the Demon's cradle;" deriving its name from a passage cut in the solid stone. Through this passage I went two or three times, and observed, in the adjacent hills several other *shekáf* (شکاف), fissures and caverns; these I had not an opportunity of exploring; but from information given by a peasant, it seemed probable that one, at least, was artificial. Next in my sketch is seen the building which contains the *Cabrgah-e-Sheikh*, (قبرگاہ شیخ) or burial-place of SAADI; after that is the brick tower of a mill. We then perceive the garden *Dilgushá* (before noticed) at the foot of *Kuh-e-Fahender*, the "mountain of *Fahender*" sloping on its southern side into the plain: this, a little farther towards the east, is called *Derya-i-nemek* (دریا نمک) or the "salt lake," being often inundated with water, which, evaporating, leaves on the earth a strong incrustation



Tomb of Saadi. Falconer. Dilguthá Garden. H. Walton Sculp.

View near Shiráz.

of salt. Beyond this plain appear the hills of the *Fírúzabád* and *Fassa* road; and my view closes on the right with an *Imámzádeh* or sepulchral monument of some Muselmán saint whose name I have forgotten.

In this aspect, the castle exhibits but one fragment, apparently insulated; part of a tower, by the country people, styled the *mináreh* (منارہ). Having ascended the rock, (and to climb it in any direction is a task of difficulty) I found much of the ancient walls yet remaining in various masses of excellent masonry, which filled the natural chasms and inequalities of the mountain; crowning its summit and defending its sides with ramparts almost impregnable, and extending above a mile. The mortar used in their construction is so indurated by time, that a piece could not be separated without considerable violence from the stones which it cemented together.

The castle was supplied with water by two wells, cut into the rock; one is small; the other very large at its mouth, and as far downwards as the eye can reach. Strangers who visit it are surprised at the noise occasioned by any hard substance in descending; these sounds are so often repeated that the ear does not easily ascertain the moment of their cessation. This well has long been an object of curiosity to the inhabitants of *Shiráz*, several thousands visiting it every year when they come for recreation to

the garden of *Dilgushá* below it, or to perform their devotions at the neighbouring Tomb of SAADI. Few leave it without having thrown in, at least, one stone, and some, as I witnessed, throw in a dozen; such probably has been the custom since the castle fell into decay many centuries ago; and as the city was in former times much more populous than it is at present, and the number of visitors consequently greater, an old Persian thought himself justified in assuring me, that the well was without bottom; "otherwise," said he, "it must, long since, have been completely filled with stones." According to Chardin, it was unfathomable; but Le Brun found it to be 420 feet in depth; and MIRZA JA'N still less; his notice of it is comprised in the following words; "many persons are of opinion that this well was "the work of Demons (or *Genii*) because the artists "have perforated the rock until they reached water at "a depth of about one hundred and fifty *zeraas*"(29). MIRZA JA'N styles it *chah e calaa e Bander* or the "well of the castle of *Bander*," and so it is denominated by many peasants; by others *Vander* and *Fander*; Chardin writes *Fendar*, and Le Brun *Fandus*. But the orthography of this name is fixed, and the history of the fortress

(29) بسیاری میگویند که اورا دیو ساخته است زیرا که سنگ را تراشیده است تا انکه باب رسانیده است و قریب به یکصد و پنجاه ذرع عمق ان میشود MS. Journal.

The Arabick word *deraa*, (pronounced by Persians *zeraa*), signifies a measure equivalent to twenty-two English inches.

given in the following translation which I have made from a rare work; and shall here present to the reader as

ذکر قلعه فهندر

"*An Account of the Castle of*
FAHENDER;"
extracted from the Persian manuscript entitled
Shiráz Námah.

"It is related by the authors of ancient chronicles, "that in former times *Fahender* was one of the most "considerable castles of *Fars*, and occupied by the "sovereigns of that country before the foundation of its "capital, *Shiráz*; in that impregnable fortress they were "always secure. There is a tradition that FAHENDER was "one of the brothers of SHAPU'R DHU'LECTAF the son "of HORMUZ; and that having fled from the presence "of his brother, he came with a numerous army into the "region of *Shiráz*; there, below the temple or chapel "of Solomon (on whom be the blessing of God!), he "was joined by several of the *Sassanian* family who were "in a state of rebellion, and the inhabitants of *Fárs* "submitted to him with humility and obedience. By "FAHENDER'S arrangements, the castle was supplied "with water, and he constructed there some edifices, "with fortifications, and the place has since been distin-"guished by his name. Tradition also informs us that "when SHIRU'IAH had murdered in one day his own

"father PARVI'Z and his seventeen brothers and neph-
"ews(30); YEZDEJERD, then an infant in his fourth year, was
"saved by his nurse who fled and brought him to *Fárs*;
"and it is said that he continued in the castle of *Fahender*
"two years and a half; and having afterwards assumed
"the Royal authority, he sent to this place, that they
"might be safely preserved, the crown of NU'SHIRVA'N,
"various jewels, and rich treasures; and he caused a
"deep excavation, a pit or well, to be made, and therein
"he buried and concealed those treasures, which, as
"many persons say, were discovered in the time of
"AZZED AD' DOULEH into whose hands they fell; whilst
"others are of opinion that they still remain there with
"a talisman constructed over them; so that it is not
"possible to find the means of drawing forth those treasures.
"According to some, it has been proved by historians
"in their chronicles, that after SAAD WEKA's had taken
"*Cadesia* and directed his course towards the territory
"of *Fars*, YEZDEJERD the son of PARVI'Z was at *Nohavand*,
"and commanded that the crown of KESRI (NUSHIRVA'N)
"and the several treasures buried in the castle of
"*Fahender*, should be removed, and deposited in trust
"with the *Khácán*, the Emperor of *Chín*, or Tartary. After
"the extinction of the Royal Persian dynasty, those
"treasures and the crown remained in *Chín*. These

(30) This circumstance occurred in the year of Christ 627.

"circumstances are said to have happened during the "*Khalifat* of OTHMAN(31); and it is related that when "the Muselmán armies had become powerful in the land of "*Fars*, and their dominion over it confirmed, they took "the castle of *Fahender* which they reduced to ruin, and "it remained in decay until the time of EMA'D AD' "DOULEH, who ordered his people to seek the fountain-"head whence YEZDEJERD had derived water for the "castle; and he endeavoured to render the supply more "abundant. YEZDEJERD, as we learn, had formed over "the well in this castle a dome or cupola with three "hundred and sixty windows, the light of which was every "morning at sun-rise reflected; and he constructed (an "edifice) resembling a place of religious retirement or of "worship, and it was held in great esteem by the devout. "But on the promulgation of *Islám* (or the Mohammedan "faith) the castle, having been ruined, EMA'D AD' DOULEH "rebuilt it after another manner; and again it sunk into "decay, until ABU GHA'NEM the son of AZZED AD' DOULEH "being desirous of improving the castle, caused a villa "which his father had constructed outside the *Salm Gate* "(*Derwázeh Salm* of *Shiráz*) to be pulled down and the "wood, iron and other materials to be transferred from "that spot to the castle, where he rebuilt, with them, the

(31) To the name of this *Khalifah*, in one copy of the *Shiráz Námah*, I find attached a violent Arabick imprecation; (عليه اللعنة) "may the curse of God fall upon him."

"villa or summer-house called the *Kiúshk* of EMA'D "AD'DOULEH and rendered it a very pleasant place. "There, within the fortress, ABU GHA'NEM for some time "resided; and it was highly ornamented, and flourished "exceedingly. And many historians declare that the trea- "sures and arms of the ancient Persian kings, with money "of various kinds, and jewels accumulated during the govern- "ment of the *Búiah* family, had been hoarded up and "guarded there; that some fell into the hands of the *Seljúkian* "Princes; and that others remain in the castle of *Fahender* "unto this day"(32).

Such is the historical foundation of an opinion generally prevalent, that the subterranean recesses of this deserted edifice are still replete with riches. The talisman has not been forgotten; and tradition adds another guardian to the precious deposit; a dragon or winged serpent; this sits for ever brooding over the treasures which it cannot enjoy; greedy of gold, like those fabled griffons that contended with the ancient Arimaspians(33). Precaution more than

(32) MS. *Shiráz Námah.* See the original Persian of this extract in the Appendix.

(33) "Arimaspi——quibus assiduè bellum esse circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum "volucri genere quale vulgo traditur, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate et "feris custodientibus, et Arimaspis rapientibus;" &c. Plin. Nat. Hist. (Lib. vii. c. 2). On this subject Pliny refers to Herodotus, and Aristeas; what ideas the Greeks formed of those imaginary monsters, we learn from paintings on ancient vases; (See "Antiquités Etrusques," &c. par D'Hancarville, Tome II. p. 127. pl. 48. (Oct. Paris, 1787). Millin's "Monumens Inedits," Tome II. pl. xvi. p. 129, and similar

common, would certainly be necessary to save such inestimable wealth from the avarice or curiosity of those, who, during various revolutions of government and chances of war, have, in a long succession of ages, possessed the castle(34). An intelligent Persian with whom I conversed at *Shiráz*, thought it most probable that some treasures of this place (for others might still remain) had been discovered in the tenth century by AZZED AD' DOULEH, through the means of a soldier and a girl, concerning whom he referred me to an anecdote related by MIRKHOND(35).

works. I shall examine, on a future occasion, how far those figures correspond to the Persian ideas of dragons and serpents; the *azhdehá* (اژدها) and *már* (مار) which, as various poets relate, are constant guardians of every subterraneous *ganje* (گنج) or treasure. I shall here only observe that if the *azhdehá* does not, in every respect, resemble the griffons which Ctesias describes as "four-footed birds," (*γρῦπες 'ορνεα τετράποδα*); the Persian *már*, at least, may be supposed the same as that serpent which guards the golden fruit, (as it appears on a Greek vase) in the gardens of the Hesperides. (See the "Antiq: Etrusq:" above quoted, Tome IV. pl. 13. p. 165). In Persian however, as in other languages, there is a frequent confusion between the dragon and serpent. Both furnish a subject which cannot be discussed within the limits of a note.

(34) One of these was SHA'H SHUJAA (شاه شجاع) in the fourteenth century. MIRKHOND relating the history of this sovereign, thus mentions *Fahender*;

و شاه زاده از انجا بشهر شیراز خرامید و درین اوقات شاه سلطان بمحاصره قلعه فهندر مشغول بود و الحق ان قلعه از امهات قلاع ایران بل از معظمات بقاع جهانست

"And the Prince proceeded from that place to the city of *Shiráz*, and at this time the "*Sultán* was engaged in besieging the castle of *Fahender*; and truly that castle is "not only one of the most ancient (the parent) castles of *Irán* or Persia; but also one "of the most considerable edifices in the world." (MS. *Rauzet al Saffá*, Vol. IV).

(35) On the authority of a work entitled *Tárikh Kavámi* (تاریخ قوامی), MIRKHOND informs us (in his MS. *Rauzet al Saffá*, Vol. IV), that a damsel belonging to the *haram* of AZZED AD' DOULEH had formed a clandestine intimacy with one of that prince's

Of the well and its mysteries, very extraordinary and incredible stories are related; according to more authentick reports, however, it is said to have been ascertained on actual examination, (though not without much personal danger and even the loss of lives) that lateral ramifications extend through the excavated rock to a considerable distance, terminating in chambers, or sinking abruptly into profound abysses, which, at least within the memory of man, no person has ventured to explore(36). There are

soldiers. This man having pursued a fox to his hiding-place, discovered a fissure in the ground, from which, by several steps, he descended into a chamber "wherein "he beheld an hundred jars or urns full of gold and jewels."

و در ان خانه صد خم مملو از زر و جواهر دید

For some time he observed secrecy respecting his good fortune, and used the wealth with discretion; but once, in a moment of intoxication, boasted of the immense treasures that he possessed; and the damsel revealed every circumstance to AZZED AD' DOULEH, having received his ring as a pledge of forgiveness for her violation of the *haram*. The Prince obtained the treasures, bestowed part on the soldier, and gave him the damsel as a wife.

(36) From a note made at *Shiráz* and hitherto mislaid, it appears that Mr. Morier's English servant ascertained the well of *Fahender* to be three hundred and fifty yards deep. I found it the haunt of pigeons, as when visited in 1664 by Daulier Deslandes, who heard that it had formerly been the custom to throw in here women guilty of infidelity towards their husbands. "On nous dit qu' autrefois on y jettoit les femmes adulteres; les pigeons y nichent à present dedans." (Beaútez de la Perse. p. 71). According to Tavernier (Voyages, Liv. v); the fellow traveller of Deslandes; the wells were half-filled with stones cast in by visitors; but several Persians assured me that subterraneous currents prevented those stones from settling at the bottom. In my remarks on the Caspian Sea I shall notice the opinion of some (and among them an ingenious European) that its waters work a passage under ground even to the Persian Gulf; whilst a celebrated English Philosopher assigns evaporation as a sufficient cause, why the basin of that wonderful lake, which receives many vast rivers, yet has not one visible outlet, should never overflow.

certain spots of the mountain, two or three hundred yards from this well, where the foot treading without any violent effort, produces sounds which seem to indicate vaults or hollows immediately beneath; yet here the surface appears to be of the original unbroken stone. These sounds I particularly remarked among the foundations of some walls which could not have occasioned them; it was in that quarter of the castle, where king JEMSHI'D, as one tradition relates, constructed a palace; and where, according to the loose chronology of my guide, that monarch's treasures were concealed, "three, four, or perhaps five thousand "years ago." Although few branches of oriental Archæology, furnish more curious anecdotes than the subject of *Treasures*, as might be demonstrated by a heap of extracts now before me; (some of which, on another occasion, shall be offered to antiquarian readers); I must not here digress from the castle of *Fahender;* but shall recall my reader's attention to that passage of the *Shiráz Námah*, (quoted in p. 35), which mentions an edifice with three hundred and sixty windows; admitting each successive day, the sun's morning light. That it was erected for the purposes of Astronomy, I am inclined to believe, whatever opinion concerning its utility, may be formed by European professors of that science. We find structures which to me appear almost similar, in countries very widely separated; in ancient Egypt, if we are not deceived by an

eminent Arabian author(37); and, according to a rare and excellent Persian work, in *Ghúr* or *Ghaur*, a district of *Zabelistán*, on the Eastern confines of Persia; near the great range of mountains, called by our classick Geographers, Paropamisus(38).

(37) MAKRIZI, who about four centuries ago, described the *berba* of *Dendera* as a wonderful edifice, with one hundred and eighty windows; through one of which, says he, the sun enters each day successively until he arrives at the last: then retracing his course, he finishes at that window where he began. "Du nombre des *berba* est celui de "Dendera, qui est un edifice merveilleux; il a 180 fenêtres; chaque jour le soleil y pene-"tre par une de ces fenêtres; et le lendemain par la fenêtre suivante, jusqu'a ce qu'il soit "parvenu a la derniere; alors il retourne en sens contraire jusqu' a celle par laquelle "il avoit commencé." See M. de Sacy's translation of MAKRIZI, in his "Observations sur le Nom des Pyramides;" p. 35, (originally published in the Magazin Encyclopedique, a Miscellany of considerable merit). Mr. Hamilton noticed in the Temple at *Dendera* (the ancient Tentyra) a multiplicity of astronomical representations covering the walls and ceilings of several apartments; "these rooms" he adds, "have been lighted "by small perpendicular holes cut in the ceiling; and, where it was possible to "introduce them, by oblique ones in the sides. These holes are very small on the "outside and gradually diverge for the purpose of dispersing the light over the "apartment; on occasion they might be closed with stone stoppers." Ægyptiaca. p. 197. To the account of Dendera in this valuable work, a future reference must be made.

(38) The Persian work to which I allude is the MS. *Tebkát Násri*, composed in the thirteenth century by MENHA'JE SERA'JE. This writer mentions a prince (who appears to have been nearly his contemporary) the EMI'R ABBA'S (امير عباس) of the *Ghúr* (غور) or *Ghaurian* dynasty, and describes him as eminently skilled in astronomy (در علم نجوم). "He caused a lofty edifice," says the historian, "to be constructed "on a rising ground; with twelve towers; and in each he formed thirty windows; six "towers were on the North and East, and six on the West and South. Each tower "was painted to represent one of the Zodiacal signs; and he so contrived, that the "sun should enter each day at one of the windows; and having ascertained at which "window its dawn appeared, he knew in what degree and in what heavenly mansion "the sun was on that day."

بر بالاي تلي قصري بلند بنا فرمود بدوازده برج و در هر برجي سي دريچه نهاد شش

Proceeding from the castle of *Fahender* about three miles eastward, the traveller discovers on a rising ground some ruins of an edifice, from thirty to forty feet square; generally called *Máder-i-Suleimán* (مادر سليمان) "the Mother of Solomon." The principal objects are three portals, eleven or twelve feet high; the two upright pilasters of each, which form the door-way, support a block of marble, seven or eight feet long, laid on them horizontally. Whoever has studied in the plates of Chardin, Le Brun, or Niebuhr, the style of Persepolitan architecture and sculpture, must at once recognise it in the portals and human figures, rather larger than the natural size, which they exhibit on the inside; and, among the walls now reduced almost to the foundation, are many stones covered with devices, of which the exact counterparts may be seen at Persepolis; two of the least injured I sketched on the spot, and have represented in the Miscellaneous Plate, (Nos. 4. and 5). When compared with the monuments of that ancient capital, they seem not only coeval, but formed of the same marble, and as if carved by the same chisel. They had been cleared from rubbish during the late researches of two gentlemen belonging to our embassy, the result of whose labours with other circum-

برج شمالي و شرقي و شش برج غربي و جنوبي و هر برجي بر صورت برجي از فلک بنگاشت و وضع انچنان کرد که هر روز خورشيد از يک دريچه هست ان دريچه که مطلع او بودي دريافتي چنانچه اورا معلوم بودي که انروز افتاب در کدام درجه و از کدام برجست

stances, would justify a strong suspicion that the reliefs did not occupy the situation for which they had been at first designed, but had been brought from other structures; since pieces evidently belonging to different sculptures and therefore not exactly fitting, had been arranged together by the builder of this edifice; he had also placed fragments with carved figures in the very foundation; and even the component members of the portals were not united with that symmetry which an original architect would probably have bestowed on them. The dislocation of some parts may, perhaps, be attributed to earthquakes; but accident can scarcely have occasioned the juxta-position of certain masses, which appear to retain the situation assigned on the first construction of this edifice(39).

To transport from Persepolis, (a distance of between thirty and forty miles), so many, and such large masses of marble, was indisputably a work of considerable labour, and, therefore, why any of the carved and ornamented pieces should have been concealed in the foundation, where rude and common stones which might be found on the spot would serve as well, seems extraordinary

(39) Niebuhr scarcely doubted that the sculptured stones of this ruin had been brought from *Chehlminár*, or Persepolis; and he remarks that they are here as ill-placed as the ancient columns found in modern Egyptian buildings; "Aussi n'y a t'il presque "pas de doute, qu'ils ne soyent apportès icy de *Tschil minar*; mais ils sont icy aussi "mal placés, que les colonnes des anciens Egyptiens dans les batimens des nouveaux." Voyages &c. Tome II. p. 136. (Amst. 1780).

and unaccountable. I do not think it probable that the Muselmán princes, who have ruled this country for nearly twelve centuries, would undertake such a task as the removal; their religious prejudices rather teaching them to destroy than to preserve the sculptured monuments of those, whom they detested as infidels, and stigmatized as idolaters([40]). To earlier ages, then, we may assign the transfer from Persepolis of the principal materials that constituted this edifice. It is clear that those who bestowed much labour in removing the sculptures, must have regarded them with respect or admiration; and we are authorized to suppose that such pieces only were buried in the foundation, as had suffered accidental injury, and were deemed unworthy of a conspicuous place; yet some that I remarked might still have served as ornaments. In other countries the works of ancient sculptors have been often confounded with base materials, in

([40]) Niebuhr mentions part of a column visible, near *Shiráz*, on a spot where some Mohammedan had constructed a palace, of which, in that traveller's time, no other vestige remained; this fragment, he suspected, had been brought from Persepolis, it being of black and hard marble, like the monuments of that place, whilst the rock near *Shiráz*, is of a softer and whitish stone. "On diroit qu'il l'a cherché a *Tschil* "*Minâr*, car il est du même marbre dur et noir dont sont faites les ruines de *Per-* "*sepolis*: au lieu que le rocher près de Schirâs est une pierre blanche et pas dure." (Voyage, &c. p. 136. Amst. 1780). The Mohammedan may not have entertained any religious scruples respecting a mere column; but it seems probable that he only brought the fragment from *Mader-i-Suleimán*, (within three or four miles); and not directly from Persepolis, distant between thirty and forty. I found, and have kept, part of the cap or coronet of a figure perfectly agreeing both in stone and sculpture, with one which I procured at Persepolis, and shall delineate in my account of that place.

walls and foundations; but for these instances of misapplication, it is, perhaps, in our power to account(41).

Among the Persians these venerable ruins are known by various names; all however, connecting them with Solomon; they were his "Chapel," or his "Monastery," or "Temple," as a man of letters at *Shiráz* informed me; and, as we have learned from SHEIKH ZARKU'B, in a passage above-quoted; they are also called the *Mosque* or *Temple* of that royal prophet's mother *(Masjed-i-Mader-i-Suleimán)*; or her *Throne (Takht-i-mader-i-Suleimán)*, or simply *Mader-i-Suleimán*,

(41) We know that beautiful remains of sculptured marbles, daily found by the Turks in those classick regions over which they have unfortunately been too long allowed to tyrannise, are frequently used in the construction of mean dwelling-houses, or stables; the stone being often placed in a wall with the device or inscription inwards. But the natural taste of a Turk seems such as would induce him to prize more highly the earthen-ware bowl of a tobacco-pipe, not worth two *paras*; than the finest vase of Greek or Etruscan pottery. The Turks besides, are Mohammedans; and, as they have always been, and most probably ever will be, rather more than semi-barbarians. It is also well known that the foundation of Pompey's or Diocletian's pillar at Alexandria, is partly composed of sculptured stones, once, we may believe, the sacred ornaments, or records of some temple; but those who employed them, (undoubtedly Greeks or Romans), were not impressed with any veneration for the Hieroglyphicks of ancient Egypt. In ages still earlier we find that the Athenians confounded sculptured marbles, some taken even from sepulchral monuments, with stones of every kind in the walls of their city. But Thucydides, who relates this circumstance, (Lib. I. cap. 93), likewise explains the necessity which prompted those citizens to raise the walls in so expeditious a manner, that publick and private buildings were demolished to promote the work; and all the inhabitants, without exception of women and children, contributed their share of actual labour.—Τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τους ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ αυτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παιδας, φειδομένους μήτε ιδίου μήτε δημοσίου οικοδομήματος, ὅθεν τὶς ωφέλεια ἐσται ες τὸ ἔργον.—(Thuc. Lib. 1. c. 90).

"the mother of Solomon"(42). Two buildings which have been assigned to Bathsheba, are briefly described by an ingenious traveller of the seventeenth century; one, called the "Tomb of Solomon's mother," (an extraordinary building which I shall hereafter notice), situate not very far from the ancient Persepolis; the other her "Temple," near *Shiráz*; with figures supposed by him to represent sacrifices; "but in truth," adds he, "those monuments "are both of an antiquity exceeding all tradition"(43).

In other places of this country, tradition has likewise affixed to various edifices the name of that Jewish monarch; who, in a very extraordinary manner, as I shall

(42) In the name *Masjed i Mader i Suleimán*, the first word (مسجد) must not be confounded (as we sometimes find it) with *mashehd* (مشهد) the burial-place of illustrious persons, more particularly religious martyrs. I shall have occasion to notice the supposed *mashehd* of Bathsheba in a subsequent chapter. The Temple or *Masjed* of Solomon's mother (near *Shiráz*), is delineated by Kæmpfer (Amœnit. Exot. p. 355); also by Le Brun, (Voyages, p. 299. Amst. 1718), who believed the figure carved on each pilaster to be a representation "de femme grande comme nature." To me it seems that he and others have been, in this respect, mistaken; among the sculptured figures here and at the *Takht i Jemshíd* of Persepolis, I could not discover one unequivocally feminine; and I doubt whether in all Persia the figure of a woman appears on any great monument older than the third century; in my opinion, however, those which we find on some small *antiques*, particularly on cylindrical gems, may be regarded as coeval with Persepolis, or perhaps with Babylon.

(43) "Perstat circa antiquam Persepolim sepulchrum ingentibus saxis construc-"tum; tum fanum circa Sirazium figuris sacrificiorum cœlatum; illud sepulchrum "Matris Salomonis; hoc templum matris Salomonis vocant; sed revera utriusque "monumenti antiquitas omnem superat traditionem." (P. Angel. Gazophyl. Pers. p. 365). I have quoted the Latin column as being more full than the Italian, French or Persian.

hereafter more particularly observe, has been confounded by the Persians with their celebrated JEMSHI'D. To whomsoever we may ascribe this building, it affords an interesting subject of investigation, which should not be restricted to the square itself; for in the adjacent grounds now uncultivated, sufficient proofs of former habitation may be found; vestiges of ancient walls extend above a mile; and on the left, not far from the three door-ways, are ruins of a castle. Among the sculptured fragments I could not discover inscriptions of any kind, but it is probable that future researches may bring some to light; a subterraneous chamber, also may perhaps be found, although my inquiries after it were unsuccessful; subsequent information induces me to believe, that it is very near the square edifice; I was misled and sought it among the natural caverns of some neighbouring hills.

The next object of antiquarian curiosity is about one mile and a half from this; but in age and character altogether different. It consists of three compartments or tablets cut in the face of a solid rock, below which runs a delightful stream of the most pure and excellent water, abounding with fish. In each compartment is represented a man; the largest contains also the figure of a woman. To an eye conversant with their gems and medals, it is evident that the men, at least, are of the Sassanian family; and I do not hesitate to pronounce that the middle

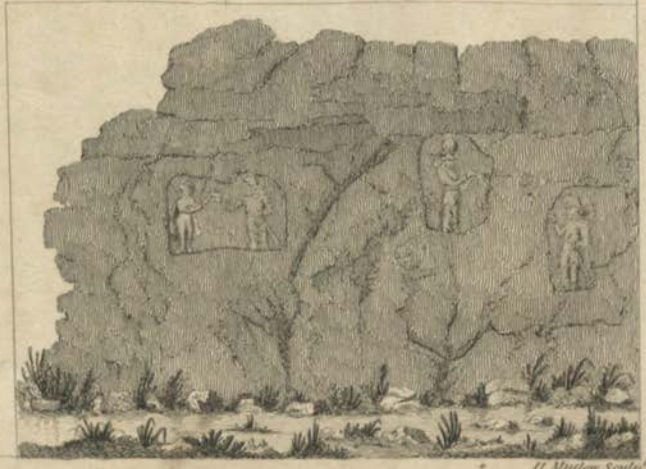
compartment exhibits the form of VARAHRA'N; one of five kings bearing the same denomination, which the Greek and Latin writers express by VARANES, VARARANES, BARARANES, and VARAMUS; the modern Persians by BAHRA'M (بهرام). Of those kings the first ascended the throne in the year of Christ 274; and the last terminated his reign and his life in the year 441, having governed longer and with more celebrity than any of those preceding. To him, therefore, we may, perhaps justly, assign this sculptured figure, representing a stately and handsome personage with the globular crown and winged *tiara*, visible on the medals which I deciphered and described in a former work, and which in *Pahlavi* characters offer on both sides the name of VARAHRA'N. Four letters of this name (as they seem to be), are found on the rock in an imperfect inscription, discernible near the Monarch's right knee(44).

(44) On reference to an article in the Appendix of Volume I, (explaining the medals engraved in Plate XXI); some observations will be found relative to those wings, which, proceeding from the lower part of his crown, distinguish VARAHRA'N, or BAHRA'M from other Persian kings who adopted ornaments or symbols of the same kind. Wings so placed, besides other circumstances of resemblance, identify the personage represented on the rock near *Shirâz*, (See Plate XXIX), with him whose head appears on various medals bearing the name of VARAHRA'N, and which, as in a former work, ("Observations on some Medals and Gems," &c) I would assign to BAHRA'M the fifth; or with his usual surname BAHRA'M-GU'R (بهرام گور). This Monarch, much celebrated in real history, and still more in romance, has already been mentioned with his lovely bride SEPINU'D, (See Vol. I. p. 139). We find on several medals a Queen as the companion of BAHRA'M. (See Vol. I. Append. and Pl. XXI. also the "Observations," &c. above-quoted, p. 7); but he appears alone in his compartment on the sculptured rock. The letters near his knee seem the first four of his name, VRHR.

Whilst my companion, Major D'Arcy, was engaged in making views of general scenery, I delineated the rock with the tablets and figures which they contain; and have presented, in Plate XXIX, a copy of my sketch; as the little engraving published by Daulier, appears to have been executed from memory not the most faithful; and even Kæmpfer and Le Brun in the drawings of this monument which they have given, by no means display their usual accuracy; indeed the drawings are at variance not only with the object itself, but with their descriptions of it([45]).

I climbed up, not without difficulty, into the largest compartment, to trace more exactly than a person could

([45]) The lady appears in Daulier Deslandes's view standing on the wrong side; her companion in the same compartment is, consequently, misplaced. The two kings in separate compartments look both in the same direction. (See "Beautez de "la Perse," p. 60). Kæmpfer's view exhibits the lady as offering something, nearly globular, to the king, who, in his description, offers her a flower; he has *caricatured* the middle figure (BAHRA'M's), and totally omitted the wing, so conspicuous on his crown. (Amœnit. Exot. p. 363). This wing is likewise omitted by Le Brun, who has reduced the lady's figure to a child's size, without any feminine *contour*, which the original exhibits in an eminent degree; (Voyages, &c. p. 299. Amst. 1718). He mentions three figures in the first compartment, (p. 300), yet has delineated but two. It is however, probable that in the time of those travellers, several trees, which no longer exist, rendered the view of this monument difficult and obscure. Tavernier mentions a fig-tree that partly concealed it; (Voyages, Liv. V); and Thevenot (who travelled with him and Daulier Deslandes) says that it was known to few persons, being nearly surrounded by marshes and covered with trees. (Voyages, Tome IV. p. 498, Amst. 1727). Chardin's very brief description induces me to suspect that it was borrowed from some Persian; he magnifies the sculptured figures to thirteen or fourteen feet in height; but does not expressly say that he examined them himself; (Voyages, &c. Tome IX. p. 185. Rouen. 1723).



W. O. del.t H. Mutlow Sculp.t

Sculptures near Shíráz.

from below, four lines of a *Pahlavi* inscription, cut on the surface of the stone between the Prince and Queen; for such we may suppose the female, as she wears a royal fillet or *tiara* of which the ends are conspicuous behind her head. Although assisted by Major D'Arcy in impressing every form of the letters on paper slightly wetted for the purpose, and applied to the very stone, so much effaced and corroded was the inscription that I cannot lay a satisfactory imitation of it before the reader. The Queen's figure possesses some degree of feminine elegance(46); her flowing drapery is light and managed with ease; her face, however, has been completely and wilfully destroyed, and one arm is considerably injured; the other she extends to receive from the Monarch a flower, or some ornament resembling a lotos, which he presents to her with the right hand; his left rests on the handle of his sword; he is of a large and robust form, and wears a kind of shoe or slipper, which seems, like the modern *kafsh*, to cover the fore part, only, of the foot; but the border of his lower garment may have deceived me. BAHRA'M occupies, as already-mentioned, the middle compartment; and in the third, we behold another Prince whose left leg projects from the rock in a style of very bold relief; he, also, holds his sword with the

(46) Of our old travellers, Kæmpfer alone does justice to the Queen in his description; which but ill accords with the rude engraving placed before it. "Hæc venusta humanæ staturæ fœmina," &c. (Amœnit. Exot. p. 363).

left hand. Those figures are all equal, in height and proportions, to full grown persons; very tall and large but not absolutely gigantick; and in execution they scarcely yield to the monuments at *Shapúr*; the swords are straight, as in other sculptures and on medals of the Sassanian dynasty.

I did not find that those remains were immediately known by the appellation of *But Khánch*, (بتخانه) which they bore in Chardin's time; it signifies the "house of idols," and is vulgarly applied, even with less propriety than in this instance, to several monuments of antiquity. Very general also, is the term *Kademgah* (قدمگاه), the "footstep "or vestige," by which Daulier Deslandes, Thevenot, and Le Brun have described them; for the *Muselmán* Persians often bestow that name on various spots where the saints and prophets whom they venerate, have (although long since dead) condescendingly revealed themselves to the gaze of pious mortals. Kæmpfer informs us that this place was called *Bermeh delek*, from the stream and chasm in the mountain; and a native of *Shiráz* who attended me there, styled it the *chashmeh-i-sulatein* (چشمه سلاطين) or "fountain "of the Kings;" but a traveller will be directed, with the greatest certainty, to the rock of BAHRA'M, should he inquire for the *Nakhsh-i-Rustam*, (نقش رستم) or "repre- "sentation of the hero RUSTAM," a name absurdly but not peculiarly given to some ancient monuments near Perse-

polis; I have found many other sculptures bearing the same denomination.

On the twelfth of April, I accompanied Lady Ouseley to the city; it having been appointed that she should then visit the Queen, Prince HUSEIN ALI's mother. The *Mehmándár*, and ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, Lieutenant George Willock, and Mr. Sharp, were of our party; with some Indian Dragoons and Persian servants. Lady Ouseley and her daughter went in the *palankín*; the two English maids in a *cajávah*. We had scarcely set out from the camp when a Persian Nobleman splendidly dressed, and mounted on a fine Arabian horse, introduced AGA JAUHER, chief officer of the Queen's household, a young African black; one of those here generally called *Habshi* (حبشي) or "Abys-"sinians;" and educated from infancy for the superintendance of Eastern *Harams*, where they are regarded, and probably despised, almost as women, by the beautiful Georgians(47). He was of an ugly but animated countenance and apparently good-natured; he too, rode a spirited charger sumptuously caparisoned; his robes were very magnificent, and he wore, in his girdle, a dagger of which the handle was studded with diamonds, emeralds and rubies.

(47) I was surprised to find that the fair *Circassians*, so familiar to readers of romances composed in Europe, were seldom mentioned by the Persians, who include them under the more general appellation of *Georgians*. To say that a Persian lady resembles a *Gurji* (گرجي) or Georgian, is one of the highest compliments to her beauty. The *harams*, however, contain many lovely Circassians.

We proceeded to the *areg* or citadel, and were admitted into the outer-court of the palace; here AGA JAUHER left us; Mr. Sharp and I alighted from our horses and attended Lady Ouseley, who was carried in the *palankin* along gloomy passages; until, at the foot of some stairs, near a dark arched-way, several persons (whether male or female I cannot exactly tell) opposed our progress, and appeared astonished at finding that men had advanced so far. I retired to the outer court with Mr. Sharp, and the Indian *palankin* bearers; and Lady Ouseley (as she mentioned on her return) was conducted by AGA JAUHER through various apartments, and at length introduced to the Queen, who received her most graciously; seemed much pleased that she remarked the King's portrait: and delighted with the unembarrassed air and elegant playfulness of her little daughter Janie. A chair had been provided for Lady Ouseley; the Queen, supported by cushions, sat in the usual manner, on a *nammed* or carpet of soft felt, spread on the floor; her ample trowsers or drawers, (*zírjámah* زیرجامہ), were so stiffened with jewels and embroidery, that she could scarcely move her legs; her feet were just visible, and her slippers appeared to be encrusted over with pearls. Her daughter, a princess of sixteen or seventeen years, and very handsome, according to Lady Ouseley's description, was also sitting; but ten or twelve young women, supposed to be the Prince's wives, stood, during this interview, in silent and respectful

attendance. Meanwhile, the English maids were entertained in another chamber; their delicacy, however, was a little offended at the manner in which some of the Queen's ladies endeavoured to gratify their curiosity respecting different articles of European dress.

At this time the *Mehmándár* having consigned Mr. Willock, Mr. Sharp and me to some officers of the Prince's establishment; we were ushered into an open-fronted room, where, (after *Caleáns* and coffee) we partook of a collation, which might be styled a dinner; for besides abundance of cakes, sweetmeats and fruits, it comprised lamb and fowls, prepared in various forms of cookery, and exceedingly palatable, as I thought, although not accustomed to the sauce generally added by Persians to their meat; a mixture of sweet, acid and unctuous ingredients. This repast was served in large trays, laid on the carpet of the room, each tray containing several fine china bowls and dishes: from these each person helped himself, his hand supplying the place of knives, forks and plates; the only spoons were those (made of box or pear-tree wood), out of which we drank delicious sherbet of rose-water cooled with ice. A *káshúk* (قاشوق) or spoon of this kind, is represented in the Miscellaneous Plate, (No. 6).

Lady Ouseley having taken leave of the Queen after a visit of above half an hour, came into the outer square

where we joined her. I saw, under a gate-way here, two sons of the Prince, with their attendants; the infants were dressed in every respect like men.

AGA JAUHER returned with us to the camp; he said that the Queen regretted much the mutual ignorance of each other's language which hindered her from expressing many kind offers of service, to Lady Ouseley; whose advanced pregnancy rendered the Queen desirous that she should become her guest. But this favour was declined; as, whilst enjoying it, Lady Ouseley must have dispensed with the visits of her surgeon; and relinquished even the society of her husband. Other friendly wishes AGA JAUHER communicated to the Ambassador; and paid me a visit on his way back to the city. He was highly gratified at the sight of some drawings and prints which I had brought from England; inquiring into every minute particular; and making on each, most extraordinary remarks. He, like many Persians, considered our *half-length* and *three-quarter length* portraits as unnaturally defective; and always proposed the addition of arms and legs as a great improvement, especially in the representations of handsome women(48).

(48) Among my coloured prints he was most pleased with a likeness of the beautiful Mrs. Whitmore; this he requested permission to show at the palace; where it remained several days, an object of admiration to the Prince, as AGA JAUHER assured me.

On the thirteenth, our *Mehmandár*, ZEKI KHA'N, came to the camp at an early hour that he might attend us on a visit to the acting minister, MIRZA ZEIN AL ABEDEIN. He had brought with him a boy celebrated as the finest singer of *Shiráz*, who entertained us while waiting for the Ambassador in his state-tent, with a display of most uncommon vocal powers. The tune was pleasing although sung in the loudest pitch; that the tremulous inflexions of voice in tones so strained could not have been produced without considerable exertion, was evident from the agitation of the singer's throat and breast; and there seemed to be a trill or a shake on almost every note. The words alluded to the unfortunate loves of LAILI and MAJNU'N; a favourite subject of Eastern Romance, the more affecting because founded on real fact(49). During this performance, ZEKI KHA'N appeared charmed; he sat with his eyes closed, both hands placed in his girdle; and he waved his body from side to side, expressing his delight at certain cadences

(49) LAILI and MAJNU'N (ليلي و مجنون) are styled by Sir William Jones, "the "Romeo and Juliet of the East." (Asiat. Res. Vol. I. p. 46. oct. 1801); and Mr. D'Israeli, in the advertisement to his admirable "Romance," founded on their story, justly says that it "is as popular in the East as the loves of Abelard and Eloisa, or "those of Petrarch and Laura, are in the West" I heard at *Shiráz* that the LAILI MAJNU'N was sung generally in the *Makám Baghdádi* (مقام بغدادي) or *Baghdád* measure, a very soft and plaintive strain. In the future work already announced, (See Vol. I. p. 245), I shall notice the various *makáms* and *perdahs* (پرده) into which the Persians arrange their musick; giving, like the Greeks, to many modes and subdivisions, the names of certain countries and cities.

by involuntary exclamations, *bah! bah! barek Allah!*(50). We accompanied the Ambassador to MIRZA ZEIN AL ABEDEIN'S house, and were received in a handsome room open towards the court; we sat, as usual on such occasions, cross-legged; and were treated with *Caleáns*, coffee, sweet-meats, iced rose-water in which sugar had been dissolved, and other kinds of sherbet. Here, amongst many persons of distinction, was *Yusef Beg*, (يوسف بيک) very splendid in his dress, and considered by the young Persians as a perfect model of fashion; his sash was low and rather loosely tied, yet his waist was contracted to a narrow compass; his cap was never seen in a perpendicular situation on his head; it inclined either to the left or the right, or was pushed backwards with a careless air. He had been, until within three or four years, a youth of remarkable beauty, and a favourite companion of the Prince. There was, also present a man extremely corpulent, whose sister had the honour (or misfortune) of being reckoned among the Prince's wives. This bulky personage complained that he had lost a great portion of his fat and suffered in health; since, obedient to the priest or *Mulá*, he had abstained from wine during the last three years. He now solicited medical advice, and was much pleased when Mr. Sharp recommended his favourite bever-

(50) به به بارک الله These are equivalent, as expressions of applause or approbation, to our borrowed *bravo!*

age, which, after some affectation of religious scruples, he determined to resume immediately, the Ambassador having charged himself with all responsibility for the sin. We afterwards found that there were many Persians, besides this fat nobleman, who would prefer, not only the excellent wines of *Shiráz*, both white and red, but even the vilest *arrack*, (عرق), that fiery spirit distilled from dates or raisins, to the most delicious pomegranate, orange or willow-sherbet, fragrant from an infusion of rose-water, and cooled with ice. I take this opportunity of observing that throughout almost every part of their country, and during all seasons, the Persians contrive to preserve ice in places called *Yakh-chál*, (یخ چال). The use of snow or ice is a natural and obvious luxury, in which they have probably indulged from the earliest ages(51).

(51) That the ancient Greeks cooled their wine, (or water), with snow, sufficiently appears from various passages quoted by Athenæus, (Lib. III); especially some lines of Strattis :—

Οινον γὰρ πιεῖν 'ουκ αν εις
Δεξαιτο θερμὸν, αλλὰ πολὺ τουναντιόν
Ψυχόμενον 'εν τω φρέαρτι, χιόνι μεμιγμένον.

It was, perhaps, wine so cooled that proved fatal to Hephæstion at Ecbatana, the present *Hamadán*, in Persia; for Plutarch (in Alex.) styles the large drinking-vessel, ψυκτῆρα μέγαν; and that Hephæstion's beloved master, Alexander, indulged in the same luxury, we learn from Chares, according to whom the Macedonian hero caused thirty trenches or excavations to be filled with snow and covered so as to preserve it a long time. (See Athen. Lib. III). Pliny ascribes to Nero a refined method of cooling water in snow. "Neronis principis inventum est decoquere aquam, vitroque "demissam in nives refrigerare. Ita voluptas frigoris contingit sine vitiis nivis." (Nat. Hist. Lib. XXXI. cap. 3).

After this visit I went to see the manufactory of fire-arms at the house of *Badr* (بدر); famous throughout Persia for his skill in imitating the guns and pistols made by our most excellent European artists. Some of the fowling-pieces which he had just finished, bore every appearance of admirable English workmanship. But his ingenuity only served to impoverish him; for he was chiefly employed by the very great men, whose orders he dared not refuse, yet from whom he found it difficult to obtain, and impossible to enforce, payment.

The Ambassador now began to apprehend that his residence at *Shiráz*, would, probably, by a combination of various circumstances, be protracted much longer than he wished or had expected; within less than three or four weeks, the many hundred mules and camels, requisite for the removal of baggage, and the march of the Embassy, could not be provided; and several of the most heavy and unwieldy packages, containing presents of considerable value, had not yet passed the mountains between *Bushehr* and *Shiráz*. It was, besides, absolutely necessary that the Ambassador should here await the arrival of a *Mehmándár*, appointed by the king himself; and, as a mark of particular honour, selected from among the four *Vazírs*, or great ministers of state. He therefore resolved to occupy a summer-palace, which had been repeatedly offered by the Prince for his accommodation.

This was the *Takht-i-Cajar,* (تخت قاجار) the "throne, or seat, "of the *Cajars,*" erected by AGHA (or AKA) MOHAMMED KHA'N, uncle of the present monarch, and chief of the *Cajar* tribe(52).

It is situate about one mile and a quarter in a Northern direction from the city, (and one mile Westward from the *Jehán Nemá),* on a terrace or platform cut from a rock at the foot of a mountain; behind it is a court enclosed with lofty walls, and containing a *hawz* or reservoir of water, with a few trees and flowers; in front below the terrace is another *hawz,* so large as to claim the title of *deriácheh* (دریاچه) a "little sea," or "lake;" with a well-planted garden covering several acres. The superstructure comprises one spacious and handsome room, open at the front, unless when shaded by a canvass curtain, occasionally let down as in our theatres; at each side are two or three small chambers, richly gilt and painted in compartments representing scenes from various popular romances, hunting-parties and *Arabesques;* the upper rooms are small and inconvenient; the ascent to

(52) This tyrant's name was almost universally pronounced AA MAHAMMED, the title *Agha* (اغا), or *Aka* (اقا), as the North-Eastern tribes write it, losing in familiar conversation the *gh* or *k;* the AA having an accent like *a* in our words *almond,* or *archer.* The *Cajars* have been distinguished during several generations among the tribes of *Mazenderán,* the ancient Hyrcania. But I cannot trace them farther back than the year 906 (of the *Hejrah)* or of our era 1500; when PI'RI BEG CAJAR (پیری بیک قاجار) appears in the MS. *Tarikh Aulum Araï,* (Vol. I).

them being by stair-cases extremely narrow, with steps eighteen or twenty inches high. A little sketch of the *Takht-i-Cajar* is given in the Miscellaneous Plate, (No. 7). On the fourteenth of April the Ambassador removed his family to this palace, near the garden of which the other English gentlemen pitched their tents at the same time; and they assembled at his table in the great room every morning and evening. It appears to me that the *Takht-i-Cajar*, occupies exactly the site of that edifice which Niebuhr describes as ruined in his time; the only vestige then visible being part of a column already mentioned, (See p. 43; note 40). Above this palace stands a Tomb wherein reposes the mountain-saint BABA KU'HI (بابا کوهي); it is situate in a pleasant spot, and much frequented by the profligate young men of *Shiráz*, who repair thither to indulge, not only in the innocent pleasures of musick (which we often heard from our tents during the night) but in wine; and, according to every report, in debauchery the most gross and disgusting(53).

ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, meanwhile, had made the *Hafiziah* his *manzel* (منزل), or place of temporary abode. To

(53) The Tomb of BABA KU'HI is thus noticed by Niebuhr, (Voyage, Tome II, p. 136. Amst. 1780). "Un peu plus haut sur la montagne, on trouve le tombeau d'un "pretendu saint *Babe Quée*, que les Mahometans vont visiter très souvent." From the MS. *Shiráz Námah* I learn that the full name of this *pretendu saint* was SHEIKH ABU' ABD ALLAH MOHAMMED BABA KU HI, شیخ ابو عبد الله محمد بابا کوهي and that he died in the year 442, corresponding to 1050 of the Christian era.

some reports which reached us on our landing at *Bushehr*, mentioning the death of his only child, a boy nearly four years old, we had not given credit; as letters from his wife and various friends were silent respecting that event. But the *Khán*, conversing this day with AGA JAUHER, had noticed the Queen's friendly conduct towards Lady Ouseley. "Yes," replied the African, "she treated "her as a daughter, and she was equally kind to your "wife when lately here in a state of affliction." —"What "cause of affliction had my wife?" inquired the *Khán* with eagerness and anxiety. "She was then lamenting the "death of your son;" answered AGA JAUHER. Intelligence of that misfortune had been hitherto withheld by order of the king from ABU'L HASSAN, who, on this sudden communication was overwhelmed with grief. The Ambassador went next morning in a private manner, to soothe him by condolence; ZEKI KHA'N, who had come with the same amicable design, was sitting beside him and thus offerred consolation. "Why dost thou weep, my friend?" said he; "hadst thou lost a father, a mother "or a brother, lamentation might be excuseable; this is "a loss thou canst easily supply; have not six of my sons "and daughters died within the space of as many days, "yet what man can declare that he has seen me shed "one tear on that occasion?" This however, was an affectation of insensibility, or rather a boast of resignation; few possessed more good-nature, more warm or social

feelings than ZEKI KHA'N; he was habitually chearful, but had mourned for his children with real sorrow, of which he endeavoured to repress every outward appearance.

As it was determined that the Embassy should remain a few weeks longer at *Shiráz*, I solicited and obtained through the Ambassador's influence, permission from Prince HUSEIN ALI to visit several towns of the province under his jurisdiction, but little known to Europeans. It had been one object of my studies during many years, to compare the history of Alexander, as recorded by Greek and Latin writers, with the numerous anecdotes concerning that conqueror, found in Oriental manuscripts hitherto untranslated. On the subject of those events which rendered the Macedonian hero master of their country, it was not unreasonable to expect, that some interesting traditions might be still preserved among the Persians; and if these traditions appear different in many respects from the narratives of our historians, we must recollect that the Greeks disagree in reporting even the transactions of that chief which they had themselves personally witnessed; a discordance sufficiently noticed and censured by Strabo and Arrian(54).

(54) See particularly (near the beginning) Strabo's fifteenth book,—καθάπερ οι Αλεξάνδρω συγκαταστρεψάμενοι την Ασίαν, αλλ εκάστος εκάστω ταναντία λέγει πολλάκις. And the *Proœmium* to Arrian's History of Alexander's Expedition:—αλλοι, μεν δὴ αλλα υπὲρ Αλεξάνδρου ανέγραψαν, ουδ' εστιν υπερ οτου πλείονες, 'ὴ αξυμφωνότεροι 'ες αλλήλους.

The collation of those Eastern anecdotes with the classical accounts, afforded such a multiplicity of materials as filled a bulky Volume; and this I had prepared for publication at the time when MIRZA ABU'L HASSAN'S unexpected arrival in England induced our sovereign to to appoint Sir Gore Ouseley his representative at the Persian court; a circumstance which caused the suspension of that work, but enabled me in various instances to correct its errors, by giving me an opportunity of actually tracing the footsteps of Alexander.

I withheld likewise from the press a Latin Essay of which the notice was published in March, 1810(55), declaring some doubts which had arisen in my mind respecting the *Tomb of Cyrus* at *Pasagarda* or *Parsagada*. In hopes of removing these doubts by important discoveries at the place supposed to occupy the site of that ancient and imperial city, I gladly availed myself of the Prince's *rakm* (رقم), a written order, authorizing me to visit *Fassa*,

(55) In the Classical Journal, No. I, which announced my intended "History of "Alexander," and *Fasciculus* of Latin Essays, among which were

I. Antiquissima Persarum et Chaldeorum Scriptura, ex Marmoribus Persepolitanis, lateribus Babylonicis, gemmis, telesmatibus, aliisque monumentis illustrata.

II. De Cyri apud Pasagardas Sepulcro Dissertatio et Dubia.

III Nova Interpretatio nonnullorum Herodoti, Xenophontis et Arriani locorum.

IV. De Cambysis Historiâ Conjecturæ.

V. De Origine Gentium, et Noachidarum Historiâ tractatus, ex codice vetusto et rarissimo Persicè manuscripto desumptus.

VI. Numismatica Persica.

VII. De linguâ Pahlavicâ Dissertatio, &c.

(or *Passa*); to extend my researches as far as *Dárab-gird*, nearly on the borders of *Kirmán*; and to return by way of Persepolis, now called the *Takht-i-Jemshíd* or "JEMSHI'D's Throne." It commanded all magistrates of the towns and villages through which I might pass, to furnish the necessary provisions and accommodation for myself, my servants, horses and mules; a *Mehmándár*, also, was directed to attend me with some armed men, to ensure personal safety, and guard a stranger from insult in certain parts of the country, where European travellers had been scarcely ever seen.

CHAPTER VIII.

From Shiráz to Fassa and Dáráb.

ON the nineteenth of April, soon after five o'clock in the morning, I set out from our camp near *Shiráz*. The *Mehmándár*, SHI'R KHA'N BEG (شیرخان بیک), a shrewd and active young man, but of unpolished manners and perfectly illiterate, was accompanied by three horsemen, each loaded with many powder-horns of various sizes, bags of bullets, a long and very heavy match-lock musket, and a sword; there was, also, a person who conducted the *Mehmándár's* baggage. I had my *peish khidmet*, or "valet de chambre," my *jeludár* or groom, and a *káterji* (قاترجي) or muleteer, besides AGHA MOHAMMED, the *Naïb* (نایب) or deputy *Ferásh Bashi*, (See Vol. I. p. 246), with whose services the Ambassador dispensed that he might attend me on this expedition; as he had been already several times at *Fassa* and

Dáráb-gird, and professed to be acquainted with every turn of the road, knowing it, according to his own expression, *sang besang*, (سنگ بسنگ) "from one stone to another." The party consisted of nine Persians and myself.

We passed by the *Musellá* and close to the city wall, leaving the *Saadi* Gate *(Derwázeh-i-Saadi)* on the right and the bridge *(Pul-i-Saadi)* on our left. We then proceeded through a plain on which are scattered several mud-walled villages, forming part of the district or *Belukát* called *Shubazár* (بلوکات شوبازار); of those villages the *Dhey Vazírabád* (دهي وزيراباد) appeared to be the principal; it may be reckoned two farsangs from *Shiráz* or about seven miles. Having advanced another farsang we came to the *Rahdári* of *Pul-i-Fassa* (پل فسا) or the *Fassa* bridge; a single house or station for a guard at the foot of a small hill: here the road to *Firúzabád* (فيروزاباد) turns off on the right. The ingenious Kæmpfer, deceived perhaps by the name, thought it probable that this *Pul-i-Fassa* might be the remains of *Fassa* or *Passa*, the city of *Pasagarda*, founded by Cyrus; but his conjecture wants the support of existing monuments; I could not perceive, nor could the people on the spot indicate, any vestiges of antiquity(1).

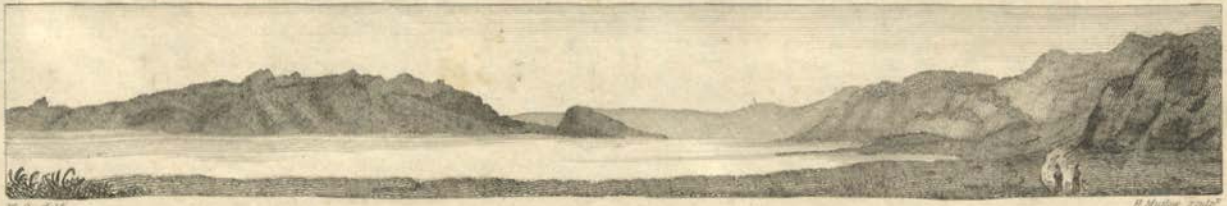
(1) "Hunc pontem, qui Sjiraso tribus parasangis distat, conjicio reliquias esse urbis, "quam Qu. Curtius *Pasagardum* vocat, Cyro conditam, cujus interitus Sjiraso incre- "mentum dedisse potuit." (Kæmpf. Amœnit. Exot. p. 355). But the bridges in Persia, like the gates of cities, are often named from the chief places towards which they lead.

1

2

3

4



W. O. del.t H. Mustow sculp.t

1. Kûh Gurikhtah. (p. 67.) 2. Saint's Tomb at Mâhlû. (p. 71.)

3. and 4. Views on the Salt Lake of Mâhlû. (p. 71. 72.)

Having crossed near this a broad stream so deep that some of the smaller horses were lifted by it off the bottom, we halted a few moments at another guard-house, called the *Rahdári Barmeh-i-Shúr* (راهداري برمه شور) from a deep pool of brackish water, said to abound in *Sag-i-áb* (سگ اب water-dogs) or otters; this place is three farsangs and a half from *Shiráz*, and equally distant from *Máhlú*. On our left, as we proceeded, was that extensive plain, which in winter becomes the *Derya-i-Nemek* (دريا نمک) or "lake of salt;" on our right were the *Kúh Carabágh* (کوه قراباغ) or mountains of *Carabágh*; to the foot of these at certain seasons the water of the salt lake approaches; when about twenty miles from *Shiráz*, we passed two handsome (بن) *Bann* trees; some *Iliáts* were sleeping in their shade; here we began to discern water spread over the plain which had hitherto been dry and covered with a whitish, sandy salt; and, were a painter's imagination to supply with trees judiciously disposed, the lofty, rugged and barren hills which surrounded it, the view would afford scenery that might be termed *picturesque*. I made at this place, a sketch comprehending the *Kúh Gurikhtah* (کوه کريخته), an extraordinary mountain on which are said to be ancient ruins* probably one of those castles, which have been already described as once very numerous in *Fárs*; (See Vol. I. p. 266). The middle of my longest sketch given in Plate XXX, is occupied by this mountain, which derives the name of *gurikhtah*, from its insulated appear-

* Plate XXX, No. 1.

ance, as having *escaped* from the other hills. The solitary cypress of *Máhlú* at last appeared; conspicuous from a distance of five or six miles; and we reached that village a little before noon.

The *Caravanserai* was more commodious than could have been expected from the mean appearance of the neighbouring habitations, and their squalid tenants. Its best chamber, a vaulted recess of bare brick walls and an earthen floor, without one article of furniture, was prepared for my reception by the simple process of sweeping; I had, however, brought a *hassír* (حصیر) or mat, a camp stool, a mattress, and canteens well furnished with tea and chocolate; SHI'R KHA'N BEG procured in the village, milk, butter, eggs and bread; and the materials of an excellent breakfast were complete.

Although *Máhlúiah* (generally called *Máhlú*) cannot boast of more than one cypress, it contains several gardens with, perhaps, forty or fifty other trees. Of whatever kind they may be, trees, in this part of Persia, are so very rare, that a traveller is almost induced to count the number of those which he sees; I have already noticed two handsome *Banns;* these and some at *Vazírabád*, are the only trees between *Shiráz* and *Mahlú*, a space of twenty-four or twenty-five miles. The direction of our course this day was towards the South-East; the road was generally flat and good, skirting along the lake within a few yards

on our left, and during the last ten miles, as near to the steep, rough rocks that projected from the foot of the mountains on our right, and formed various indentations in the plain. The hills which bound the lake on its Southern margin, lose at *Pul-i-Fassa* the appellation of *Carabágh*; they are then called the mountains of *Murreh ben Keis* (مره بن قیس); and they assume, at *Mahlú*, the name of this village. The Northern range is the *Kúh Gushnagán* (کوه کشنکان[2]).

The lake appears to be from twenty to five and twenty miles long; the distant part was so blended in a glare of light with the hills behind, that, whilst making the sketches given in Plate XXX, I could scarcely ascertain where the expanse of water ended; but it does not cover the plain much below *Mahlú*, from which it has sometimes taken a denomination; we find it thus described in the Geographical treatise of HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI. "The lake of *Máhlúiah* in the province of *Fárs*, lies "between *Shiráz* and *Servistán*; it is impregnated with salt

[2] I have already observed that in the Southern provinces of Persia, *á* before *n*, (and in some few instances before *m*), is pronounced like our *oo* or the French *ou*. Thus *Gushnagán* was called *Gushnagoon*; *Servistán, Servistoon*; *Kánán, Koonoon*; *Senán, Senoon*; *Fedishkán, Fedishkoon*. And this observation is applicable to various other names of places mentioned in the subsequent pages. But it must be recollected that in the solemn reading of poetry, especially of the *Sháh Námah*, *á* before *n*, at the end of a line, is pronounced with its original broad accent, as in our word *war*. In the title also, *Khán* (خان), *á* is never sounded like *oo* or long *á*, which would confound it with (خون) *Khoon* or *Khún*, signifying "blood."

"and receives the vernal torrent (or *seiláb* mentioned in p. 26), "which flows from *Shiráz*. This lake is in circumference "about twelve farsangs"(3). It is difficult, however, to ascertain the extent with precision, for its supply of water may be more abundant one year than another; and in seasons of inundation unusually copious, the lake may encroach beyond the limits assigned to it in my map, on the authority of persons at *Mahlú*, and my own observation. I tasted a stream where many insects of extraordinary appearance and agility were swimming, and found it slightly brackish; it communicates with the salt lake, in which, as some *Iliáts* informed me, no fish could live.

A few spots naturally verdant yielding beautiful flowers and very fragrant shrubs, diversified the general sterility of our track this day. The *Iliáts* with whom I conversed belonged to an *ordú*, (اردو horde or encampment) in a valley near the road side, where they occupied little tents and sheds composed of coarse felt, blackish and dark brown; they had numerous flocks of sheep and goats, chiefly black. We met three or four peasants driving to the market of *Shiráz*, several asses carrying

(3) بحیره ماهلویه بولایت فارس میان شیراز و سروستان است نمک لاغ است و سیلاب بهاري شیراز در انجا ریزد دورش دوازده فرسنک بود

MS. *Nozhat al Colúb* Chap. of Lakes.

A man of letters whom I knew at *Shiráz*, wrote the name *Mahálú* (مهالو).

loads of excellent salt, just gathered on the borders of the lake.

Soon after noon a whirl-wind filled every corner of my open-fronted room with dust, and brought some locusts, whose powers of spontaneous flight seemed perfectly exhausted; no efforts of their wings could lift them from the place where they had fallen. I went on the roof of the *Caravanserai* and sketched the Tomb of the village saint, or *Imámzádeh*; the single cypress, and the *Banns*; all at the foot of *Kúh Máhlú*, a steep and lofty mountain of which the upper region is a barren rock, the lower, dotted with bushes and stunted trees. (See the second View in Plate XXX). From the same spot I also sketched the salt lake and its termination, bearing Eastward; beyond were visible the distant mountains of *Khaffer* (خفر). See the third View in Plate XXX.

20. We left the *Caravanserai* of *Mahlú*, at four o'clock in the morning and reached *Servistán* at a quarter past ten; the distance is commonly reckoned seven farsangs, but some calculations suppose it eight; our direction this day was Easterly; at two miles and a half, the road to *Khaffer* turned off towards the South East, a fine *Tút* (توت) or mulberry-tree, said to be exactly one farsang, seemed four miles from *Máhlú* according to my watch and our rate of travelling. At two farsangs

or about seven miles farther, the great rock, or mountain called *Kúh Gurúkhtah* rises abruptly from the plain; near it is a *Caravanserai* falling to decay and barely capable of affording shelter from rain or heat; the plain thus far is called the *Kaffah-i-Mahálú*, (کفه مهالو); the remainder, *Kaffah-i-Servistán* (کفه سروستان). My object being to represent the face of Persia such as it really appears, however wild or barren in many places; and not to select for delineation prospects alone of beautiful scenery; I have given in Plate XXX, (See the fourth or lowermost View), a copy of my sketch, showing the *Kúh Gurúkhtah* with its rugged summit, in the middle; the distant mountains of *Servistán* on the right, and of *Gushnagán* on the left; at the foot of *Kúh Gurúkhtah*, extends the plain or *Kaffah* of *Servistán;* and on the road side is seen the old *Caravanserai* above mentioned. Having examined this edifice, we passed the *Dhey-Kánán* (ده قانان) and another mud-walled village named *Katt a Gumbez* (کت گنبز).

The *Mehmándár* had sent forward to *Servistán*, one of his guards, and several well dressed men came out and welcomed me. I was conducted to a place by the side of a brook where carpets were spread under some *Chinár* (چنار or plane) trees; but a room was, at length, provided in one of the neighbouring houses, to which I gladly hastened, as the rare appearance of a *Frangki* or European, had attracted considerable crowds. The proprietor of this house, was, I believe, a man who sold or prepared

medicinal compounds and distilled waters; in the *tákches* (طاقچه) or niches of my room, were above thirty glass bottles filled with liquids of different colours; SHI'R KHA'N BEG, hoping to discover wine among these, applied one of the largest bottles to his lips, but finding the contents extremely nauseous, he imprecated a thousand curses; not directly on the man who had combined such disgusting ingredients, but on all the females in whose honour and welfare, that man might be supposed the most interested; his wives, his mother, daughters and sisters.

HAJI NA'ZER (حاجي ناظر) the *Zábet* (ضابط) or chief, came to offer me his services, and I returned his visit about two hours after; he entertained me in the usual manner with *caleáns*, coffee, sweetmeats, fruit and sherbet; I observed during this repast some of his women and children peeping at us from windows and behind curtains, at the opposite side of the court. He said that within the distance of one farsang, there was an ancient *chárták* (چارطاق an edifice having four vaults, arches, or domes) coeval, *perhaps*, with LOHRASP, or even with JEMSHI'D; but he ackowledged that neither inscriptions nor sculptures of any kind, remained to evince its antiquity. I wished, however, to inspect these ruins, and had proceeded half a mile towards them, when a violent *Shemáli* (شمالي) or North wind suddenly arose, and brought such overwhelming clouds of dust as obliged me to seek shelter

in the house, where about five o'clock in the evening Fahrenheit's Thermometer was at 68.

Servistán, although large and populous, is considered only a *Dhey* (دهي) or village; that it was formerly remarkable for the number of its cypresses, though at present it exhibits but eight or ten, we may infer from the name(4); other trees, however, abound there; the gardens are proverbially good, and the fruits which they yield much esteemed at *Shiráz*. HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI describes *Servistán* and *Kúhenján*, as "places in *Fárs* belonging to the warm country; with unwhole-"some air and water, and great abundance of date-trees"(5). The *Zábet's* house, a brick structure, was ornamented with windows of stained glass, and, though not spacious, reckoned the best in *Servistán*; that which I occupied held the next rank; most of the other houses were small, mud buildings.

(4) *Serv* or *Sarv* (سرو) signifies the cypress, and *stán*, *istán* or *están*, (ستان) added to the name of a thing, expresses the place wherein it abounds or is contained; as *Gul-istan* (گلستان) a flower-garden, or bed of roses; *Hindu-stán* (هندوستان) the country of *Hindús* or blacks; *Negáristán* (نگارستان) a cabinet or gallery of pictures. By a change of *v* into *b*, and of *r* into *l* (very common in Persian and often occurring in other languages) the name of *Servistán* is generally pronounced by persons of the lower classes, *Selbistán*, or *Salbistán*; and I find that the Turks have adopted this erroneous pronunciation; for Meninski in his "Institutiones Linguæ Turcicæ," Tom. II. p. ult. (Vindob. 1756), having mentioned (سرو) *Serw*, adds, "vulg. *Selw*, "cypressus, cyparissus."

(5) سروستان و کوهنجان ولایتیست گرمسیر و آب و هوایش مخالف بود و درخت خرما بسیار دران باشد MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*. Geogr. ch. 12.

Some altercation happened here between the *Zábet* and *Mehmándár*, respecting the *Siúrsát* or allowance of provisions for men and horses (See Vol. I. p. 259); SHI'R KHA'N had probably been unreasonable in his demands; for HAJI NA'ZER appealed to the Prince's *Firmán;* and I overheard from my window a young lad enumerating the fowls, and butter; the bread, barley and different articles which had been required in such quantities, that another boy exclaimed in an extemporaneous rhyme, alluding to the *Mehmándár's* apparent voracity and his lofty sounding name,

"*Hán! Shír Khán?*
"*Belkeh Shír dendán!*
هان شیرخان
بلکه شیر دندان

"[illegible], the Lion-Lord or *Khán?* nay, he is the Lion-toothed *Khan*"(6).

The journey of this and the preceding day, through a tract of more than fifty miles, sufficiently evinced the scantiness of population and the neglected state of agriculture; a few *Iliáts*, on their way to *Fassa*, were, besides our own party, the only human beings, that we saw

(6) *Shír* (شیر) signifies here a "Lion;" and *Khán* (خان) a "Lord." When placed after a proper name, *Khán* is a title of high rank, as ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, (See Vol. I, p. 2, note 1). But *Beg* (بیک), a Turkish word nearly equivalent to "gentleman" and sometimes to "lord," was the title of my *Mehmándár;* and *Shír Khán* his proper name. Respecting the pronunciation of *Khán*, See p. 69. note 2.

between *Máhlû* and *Servistán;* two or three spots near *Kánán* and *Katt a Gumbez,* had been forced by irrigation to yield a promise of luxuriant crops. But from this country, however dreary and barren it seemed to me, many travellers might derive considerable gratification; the road in several places offered to view plants apparently rare, and more solid productions of the earth that were perhaps, worthy of minute examination. I had on this, as on many former occasions, ample reason to lament my ignorance of Botany and Mineralogy. A view of *Servistán* is annexed, (See Plate XXXI), engraved from my sketch, taken at a distance of about three miles on the *Shiráz* road.

21. The man whom I had dislodged from his best room, and who, without doubt, rejoiced at my departure, attended very courteously whilst I was mounting my horse, this morning at half past four; he was of middle age and handsome features, with a solemn expression of countenance; but in staining his long and flowing beard, the red *hinna* had been allowed so to predominate over the blue *rang* or *wasmah*, that most of the hairs were either pink or purple; the operation of staining them, had not, we may suppose, been completed; but the effects of this variegated tincture were inconceivably ridiculous(7).

(7) The men in Persia, of whatever age, with very few exceptions, stain their beards and hair by an application of powdered and moistened leaves of the shrub *hinná* (حنا)

He inquired with much ceremony, how I had passed the night, "I trust," said he, "that thou hast enjoyed "repose; a person should sleep soundly in his own "house; does not this with all that it contains, belong "to thee?"

We saw at one farsang from *Servistán* the *chárták* of which HA'JI NA'ZER had spoken; it lay on our right, about three miles off the road; and appeared, both to the glass and the naked eye, a brick building in the usual style of *Muselmán* architecture; near it were two mud-walled villages; the only habitable dwellings of man that we perceived during a ride of more than thirty miles; of the country-people not one was seen, but many soldiers met us, returning in bodies of ten or fifteen from *Maskat*, after an unsuccessful warfare in Arabia; with some of them SHI'R KHA'N entered into conversation and learned many particulars respecting the campaign; they seemed to suffer much from their wounds and from fatigue; and imputed to the misconduct of their leader

or cyprus, and of the *wasmah* (وسمه) or indigo, generally styled by the Persians, when used for this purpose, *rang* (رنگ) or "colour." Of these dyes, the combined effect, when the application is skilfully managed, renders hair black to an intense degree; that the *hinna* and *rang* are used by Persian ladies will be shown on another occasion; with the *hinna* they give to their nails, hands and sometimes the soles of their feet, a deep orange or reddish tint. The custom may be traced to very early ages, as appears from mummies found in Egypt; the country that principally furnishes Turkey, and Persia with *hinná*, which, to express the strongly aspirated ح, might perhaps, be better written *hhinná*.

SA'DEK KHA'N, all the disasters to which they had been exposed. My *Mehmándár* sympathized in their misfortunes, and often interrupted the recital with bursts of indignation against SA'DEK KHA'N; to express which he employed his wonted energy of language; wishing that disgrace of a kind the most extraordinary, yet familiar to the impure imagination of Persians, might befall the innocent wives and daughters of that unfortunate commander.

The general tendency of our course this day was towards the East; at five miles from *Servistán* we crossed the deep bed of a river nearly dry; and one mile farther a small running stream; we then entered upon hills and rocks, passing over a *Kutel* or mountain road, uneven and stony, but prettily wooded with small trees; at eleven or twelve miles was the *Caravanserai Kutel,* into which we rode, and found its gloomy cells and vaults mouldering to decay; within two miles of this was another *Caravanserái* with an *Imámzádah* adjoining, both in a state of ruin. We had now advanced into a spacious plain bounded on our left by the (کوہ هرمن) *Kúh Hharman,* mountains said to produce great variety of game, and the *Bezoar* stone in pieces of uncommon magnitude(8); at

(8) *Bezoar* is evidently a name derived from the Persian *pázehr* (پازهر), signifying an antidote against poison; and this name according to the MS. Dictionary *Berhán Kattea*, was formed originally of پاو *páv*, "to purify, cleanse, or wash away;" and زهر *zahr*, "poison;" but in process of time the ه (ز) being omitted, it became

seventeen or eighteen miles from *Servistán* we rode over the foundations of some buildings, but all now level with the ground.

When within five miles of our *manzil* or halting place, the village of *Kerm* (کرم), often called *Tang-i-Kerram* (تنگ کرم), I turned off to the left with three of my party, and went by a most rugged and difficult path to visit the *Calaa átesh kaddah* (قلعه اتشکده) or "Castle of the Fire-Temple;" this ruined fortress terminates the *Kúh Hharman*, of which the extremity descends into a narrow pass called the *Tang-i-átesh kaddah*, where another mountain immediately arises. The castle exhibits little more than stones in vast and shapeless masses; of the original masonry some vestiges remain at the bottom, and some on the summit of the hill, where a wall is still visible; and a few *burges* (برج) or towers appear on the almost perpendicular sides; a spring of admirable water fills a reservoir or basin of considerable circumference just below the castle; and was once, probably, included within its precincts; the water was so clear that we could discern various fishes

pázehr. From the same dictionary we learn that the Arabians write this compound word (فاوزهر) *fáwzehr*. The stone, so celebrated for alexipharmick properties, (supposed or real), is chiefly found in that kind of the *buz kúhi* (بز کوهي) or "mountain-goat," called *pázen*, (پازن). A figure of this creature may be seen in the "Amœnitates Exoticæ," (p. 407), where the ingenious Kæmpfer has given a full account of the stone itself, noticing the high estimation in which, when genuine, it was held by the Persians. "Vix incidi in hominem alicujus nominis qui rariorem lapidem inter cariora sua non asservaverit." (p. 403).

at the depth of seven or eight feet. From this fountain we proceeded two or three hundred yards, and having crossed the limpid stream in a shallow place, discovered the "*Fire-altar*" of which I made a sketch, copied in Plate XXXII.

It is a single upright stone between ten and eleven feet high; each of its four sides three feet six or seven inches broad, at the lower part; not quite so much above. On the Southern and Western sides are circular spaces, one foot in diameter, and sunk about an inch into the stone; of these, the Western circle contains an inscription nearly obliterated by time or the weather, for it bears no mark of violence; I could ascertain, however, one negative circumstance; that the characters were not (like the Persepolitan) arrow-headed, or nail-headed; they seemed to me unquestionably *Pahlavi*; but placed in four perpendicular lines, the letters being large in proportion to the space comprising the lines, so that of this inscription the words must have been few or short(9). The other circle is higher on the stone than this, and

(9) In the first Volume of this Work, p. 284, I noticed a *Pahlavi* inscription at *Shapúr*, of which the direction was nearly perpendicular; several medals of Sassanian Kings exhibit *Pahlavi* characters in a perpendicular line, on the Fire-altar; of which however, it may be observed, that the shaft affords too narrow a field, on medals, for writing in a horizontal direction. (See Plate XXI, and the explanation of it, in Vol. I. Appendix).

does not appear to have ever borne characters or any sculptured device. I climbed on the shoulders of a servant to examine the altar at top, and found it hollowed into a receptacle, like the inside of a bowl ten or eleven inches deep, wherein, we may suppose, were laid those materials which served to nourish the sacred flame. That a stone exposed to the open air and vicissitudes of seasons should have retained the traces of fire, extinct, probably, during a long succession of ages, could scarcely be expected(10). If it had been intended that the flame should blaze perpetually, the altar must have been covered; for rain, though very rare in this country, does sometimes fall; a slight superstructure may have rested on foundations now perhaps concealed by the rude low wall or fence of large stones, which enclose the altar, having a narrow entrance on the South, according to the plan given in the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 8.

(10) The burning materials may not have come in actual contact with the stone; for the *Parsís* fill the *atishdán* (اتشدان) or "receptacle of fire," up to the brim with ashes, on which as on a kind of altar, they place the sacred fire; "on le remplit de "cendre jusqu'au bord, ce qui forme une espece d'autel, sur lequel est le feu sacré." (See Anquetil's "Zendavesta," Tome II. p. 531). The fire and ashes may also have been placed in a metal vessel, adapted to the hollow of the stone-altar; we learn from Anquetil du Perron (as above-quoted) that the "*atesch-dan*;" or "vase qui contient le feu," should be of metal; and is generally in India, made of brass or copper; this, filled with fire and ashes, the modern *Parsís* place on a stone called *adosht*, about half a foot high; "*L'Atesch-dan* est posé sur une pierre, haute d'un demi pied plus ou "moins, nommée *Adoscht*" (Zendav. ibid). However degenerate in respect to height, the Indian stone may be regarded as a representative of the ancient Persian Fire-altar.

The modern Persians have abstained from injuring this monument in consequence of a tradition which marks it as the *Kadmgah* (قدمگاه) or spot where one of their saints, (a servant of ALI) had appeared since his death, in a vision, to some pious Muselmán. But I doubt whether this circumstance would have induced them to take the trouble of constructing the inclosure with an entrance, of which the situation appears adapted to an original and regular design. That they acknowledge in this altar a memorial of the ancient religion, is evident from its present appellation; the (سنگ آتشکده), *Sang-i-Atish Kaddah* or "Stone of the Fire-temple;" a name implying something more than the low wall or fence. I am inclined to regard this inclosure as coeval with the altar, which those who came to worship, approached through the Southern entrance; towards the East and North, it is partly formed of two or three stones of very considerable dimensions; these at the first and distant view, brought to my recollection various remains generally supposed Druidical which I had seen in Wales and Ireland.

There was a degree of solitude and tranquillity, with a certain air of sanctity about this altar, that interested me exceedingly, and inspired such reverential feelings as I have invariably experienced in different countries, from the contemplation of any ruined structure or neglected place, which in former ages had been dedicated,

by whatever rites, to the "Father of all" under any of his various names; feelings very powerfully excited even in the gloomy Cavern of Elephanta; though not without horror at the idea of human victims expiring there before the stupendous idols. But the religion of Persia, as reformed by Zoroaster, abhorred all cruel sacrifices; the Temples erected by his disciples were not contaminated with blood; and it pleased me to believe that at the rustick altar near which I stood, the venerable Priest had made to the Deity no other oblation than prayers and pure fire(11).

Near this monument of times long past were a few trees; none remarkable either for size or luxuriant foliage; but most, apparently old. I fancied that they might represent one of those sacred groves, formerly attached to religious structures, and in earlier ages almost considered as constituting of themselves a Temple. Among the trees appeared a *dirakht i fázl* the branches of which were thickly hung with rags, as high as a man could conveniently raise his hand. The holy trees on which votive offerings are suspended by the Persians, I have already noticed in the first volume of this work; (p. 313 and Appendix No. 9).

(11) Such were offered to the Paphian Divinity, whose altars it was unlawful to stain with blood. "Sanguinem aræ offundere vetitum; precibus et igne "puro altaria adolentur," &c. Tacit. Hist. Lib. II. 1. Yet in her honour animals were devoted and slain. "Hostiæ ut quisque vovisset," &c. ib.

From the Fire-altar we proeeeded to the *Dhey* (دهي) or village of *Tang-i-Kerm* (تنگ کرم) or, as the name was generally pronounced, *Karram*; which appears to be a mile long; it is mud-walled and has many flourishing gardens; its distance from *Servistán* is generally reckoned eight farsangs; and is, probably from twenty-eight to thirty miles. I suspected but could not ascertain, that some where about the Fire-Altar, perhaps at the stream flowing near it, we had entered *Shebángárah* (شبانکاره), considered in the fourteenth century, as an independent district, but in earlier ages, as at present, confounded with *Fárs* under the more general denomination of this great province(12). Over much of the country through which we passed this day, small bushy trees were rather thickly scattered, besides fragrant shrubs and flowers; some of these seeming to me equally rare as beautiful, I gathered with the intention of delineating them whilst fresh and preserving them for the gratification of a friend, curious in botanical researches; but they were all accidentally crushed and spoiled before I completed a drawing of one; among these was the *sheb-bú* (شب بو) a plant, as its name imports, of "nocturnal odour" which is said to be so powerful that it causes a vertiginous affection resembling intoxication.

(12) Respecting *Shebángárah* and *Kerm*, See the Appendix of this Volume, No. 3.

Arriving at *Tang-i-Kerm* we found the *Mehmándár's* guards and my servants (who had been sent forward with the baggage-mules, whilst I turned off to view the Fire-altar), still remaining outside the walls, and two of them wounded by stones which the villagers had thrown when they endeavoured to pass the gate. SHI'R KHA'N BEG however, soon removed all difficulties, and I was conducted to a room where some ragged mats and carpets were spread for my accommodation on the dusty earthen floor. The walls were rudely plastered with clay, and had several doorways and spaces for windows; but neither doors, window-frames, shutters nor curtains; directly under was a shed for cattle, exceedingly offensive from accumulated filth; yet it is probable that the village did not afford a better lodging than the room assigned to me.

Here I soon heard SHI'R KHA'N, speaking in a very angry tone, declaring the expediency of a bastinado, and applying most opprobrious epithets (of which the Persian language yields an astonishing variety) to those who had wounded our servants and refused them admission; at last, I received a visit from four or five old men, each of them bringing a *pishkash*, or present; an orange, a pomegranate, a flower, for on such occasions any thing suffices; and to come *tehi-dast* (تهیدست) or empty-handed would have been an affront. SHI'R KHA'N persuaded them that I was writing a statement of the outrage

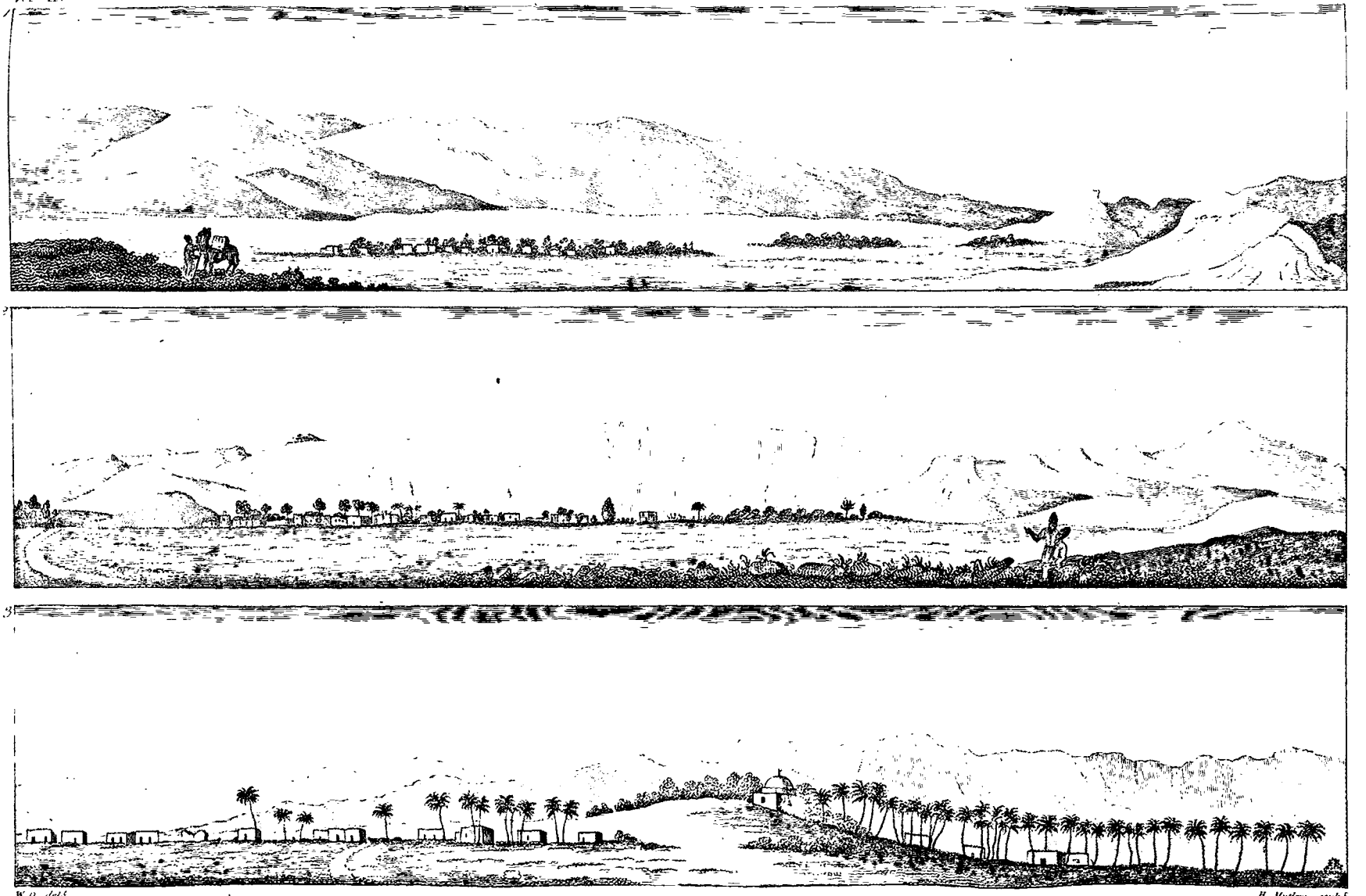
to be laid before the Prince, and the appearance of my letter-case, with ink and papers, confirmed what he said; they represented that the *Zábet* or Chief, was engaged on business at *Fassa*, and that they had already punished the offenders with blows. I declared myself satisfied and dismissed them. But SHI'R KHA'N did not so easily banish all suspicion, and he seemed to apprehend that some further insult might be offered to us; a circumstance which he was much interested in preventing: as, when appointed my MEHMA'NDA'R he became responsible with his head, for bringing me in safety back to *Shiráz*. He chose for his *Kháb gáh* (خوابگاه), or sleeping-place, the bottom of several steps which led to my apartment, and there he caused his carpet and *lehháf* (لحاف) or quilt, to be spread. I observed, in the evening, his men, and AGHA MAHAMMED unusually attentive to the loading of their muskets; and my servant ISMAEL, for the first time, laid the double-barrelled English pistols close by my pillow on the floor.

The night however, passed without alarm, but my repose was interrupted by various insects which crawled from fissures in the walls about my bed, and often on my face; giving me reason to regret that I had not brought a wooden frame that might have raised my mattress from the ground. One side of my room formed part of the village wall; and immediately below

the open window was an *Iliát's* black tent, in which a woman, by incessant singing, endeavoured to soothe a squalling child. Dogs barked and howled without intermission; the bats flew about my head whilst darkness lasted, swallows and sparrows succeeding them at day-break. Consoling myself, however, for the want of sleep, I endeavoured to learn the *Iliát* lullaby, a wild and querulous, but pleasing tune; and in the morning committed it to paper, with as much accuracy of notation as my superficial skill in musick and unfrequent practice of the flute would allow. Day at length appeared, and I hastened from a place so disagreeable, with much impatience, flattering myself that our next stage was to be at *Pasagarda*, the imperial city of Cyrus.

22. We left *Tang-i-Kerm* before five. Our course which had the last two days been generally Eastern, now assumed, for some miles, a direction of nearly South South West, along the stony bed of a river, dry in summer, but conveying to *Fassa* during winter, a considerable body of water. A stream from the *Chashmeh-i-átish Kaddeh* (چشمه اتش کده) or "Fountain of the Fire Temple," accompanied us several miles, conducted between artificial banks, at a level of many feet above the dry River-bed; at five miles, close to the road, on our right, were some walls and four *burges* or towers of a small castle, and a poor village, all built of mud,

ruined and deserted; at six miles our course became more directly Southern; at last we saw the city: I stopped on a rising ground and sketched it, bearing S. S. E. at the distance of nearly two miles; (See Plate XXXI.) Here, though the adjacent mountains looked parched and barren, the well-cultivated plain promised an abundant crop; and by the multiplicity of drains with which it was intersected, evinced the ingenuity of Persians in every process of irrigation. Notwithstanding the doubts which had arisen in my mind respecting the *Tomb of Cyrus at Pasagarda*, (See p. 63), there still was a possibility of discovering here some vestiges of that celebrated monument; and I almost regarded this morning's ride as a journey made on classick ground; it was, in fact, barely three farsangs, or between ten and eleven miles; and I alighted before eight o'clock at a garden near the town, where as SHI'R KHA'N had announced my visit by a messenger sent before us from *Tang i Kerm*, several men of respectable appearance were waiting to receive and welcome me in the Governor's name. Roses and other flowers were presented with profusion; and I was led along straight walks between rows of Cypresses and *Chinár*-Trees, for half an hour; a delay very irksome to me, as there was not any reason for supposing this spot the royal garden or *paradise*, which had contained



W. O. del.t H. Mutlow sculp.t

1. Sarvistán. p. 76. 2. Fassa. p. 88. 91. 3. Záhedán. p. 107.

the Tomb of Cyrus(13). A person whispered that my detention here was contrived by desire of the Governor who wished to prepare for me a suitable lodging in this City; "a place" said he, "formerly remarkable for "its extent and splendour; but not, at present, abound-"ing in handsome or commodious habitations."

From one who had thus alluded to the former state of *Passa*, I naturally sought information concerning any remains of antiquity visible at that place or in its vicinity; but his answers induced me to fear that if any had existed, they were now, as he declared all totally *kherâb* (خراب) defaced and destroyed. We proceeded towards the town, and met on the way a person sent by MIRZA MOHAMMED TAKKI (میرزا محمد تقي) the Governor, and many attendants who very ceremoniously accompanied me to the house, where a small, neat room had been furnished with carpets and cushions for my accommodation. Here as I sat at breakfast, my canteens and the various articles which they contained, were objects of extreme curiosity to two old men whom MI'RZA TAKKI had appointed to serve me as guides about the city: and they were particularly surprised at the assemblage of commodities, produced

(13) Ειναι γαρ εν Πασαργαδαις εν τῳ παραδεισῳ τω βασιλικῳ Κύρου εκεινου τάφον. according to Arrian, (De Exped. Alex. Lib. VI. c. 29). The account of Cyrus's Tomb given by this writer, and by Strabo, Onesicritus, Pliny, Solinus, Curtius and others, shall be examined in my future work on the History of Alexander, to which I have before alluded; (See p. 62-63).

in so many and such distant regions. West-Indian sugar and Chinese tea; wine from *Shiráz* and from the African Island of Madeira; chocolate made at Rio de Janeiro; English cups and saucers, knives and forks; all furnished ample matter of enquiry, and directed the conversation to a favourite topick, *Yangidúnia*, "the new world," or America; which, as I found on other occasions, most Persians suppose antipodally situate exactly under *Ispahán*.

My examination of the town was soon completed, for its narrow lanes are not numerous, and half the mud-built houses of which they are chiefly composed seem untenanted and falling to ruin; the few buildings of brick are not in better condition; the people, generally, wear an aspect of poverty and misery; and on leaving *Fassa* I might almost have used the words of Pietro della Valle who says, that he found in it nothing worthy of remark but the palm or date-trees, which are not seen in more Northern parts of the country; the oranges and double narcissuses(14). He duly celebrates, however, that majestick, beautiful and most venerable cypress, which I had admired at the distance of several miles, and almost worshipped when standing beneath its shade. A noble tree! and as that excellent Italian traveller affirms, "the

(14) "Ma non vi trovai cosa degna di notarsi, fuor che si cominciano a vedere alberi "di palme, che ne gli paesi della Persia più addietro, e più settentrionali non vi "sono. Vi notai anche copia di aranci, e di narcisi doppi," &c. Viaggi, Lettera 16, de '27 di Luglio. 1622.

"handsomest and largest I ever beheld"([15]). It has not, probably, increased since his time (nearly two centuries ago) either in height or bulk; for it was then very aged *(molto annoso)* and its trunk would fill at once the expanded arms of five men; neither does it exhibit many symptoms of decay; yet it is said to have been, for above a thousand years, the boast and ornament of *Fassa.*

Although the Persians are much inclined to gross exaggeration in all accounts of their antiquities (and indeed on every subject), I must acknowledge that the inhabitants of this city did not endeavour, as others have done, to deceive me by descriptions of unreal monuments. One of my guides mentioned as the most ancient that it possessed, a large *emáret* or *chárták* of brick, with two rows of windows conspicuous at a distance of some miles among the low, mean, mud-built houses. It appears in my view. (Plate XXXI, No. 2), on the right of the great cypress.

I found it to be an edifice, perhaps three hundred years old, of which the upper story seemed originally designed as an habitation for the living; the lower part was a receptacle for the dead; the floor being chequered with many tomb-stones. The body of some pious *Imámzâdeh,* who had died, according to certain legends, in the odour

([15]) "Il più bello e'l più grande che io habbia mai veduto in vita mia, poiche, "il suo tronco—dove da basso e solo prima di dividersi, è tanto grosso, quanto à "pena possono abbracciar cinque persone unite in giro." ib.

of sanctity, was here preserved; and as a great favour my guides allowed me to descend into a vault that I might be edified by the sight of a four-legged wooden bench on which was laid the carcass, imperfectly screened by a very coarse and dirty veil or curtain of blue and white striped linen. Here, for a moment, I indulged myself in fancying that the spot, now polluted as a cemetery of *Muselmáns*, might have once belonged to the royal garden which comprised the Tomb of Cyrus; the splendid furniture of that Monarch's sepulchral chamber; his golden coffin; his couch; the magnificent coverings or hangings of Babylonian manufacture; the purple carpets, the cups, the jewels and other imperial ornaments(16), presented themselves to my imagination, and I remained awhile, unconscious that my eyes were fixed on objects so different and so disgusting; but one of the guides, mistaking the cause of this abstraction, began to recount with much complacency, the virtues and miracles of his favourite *Sheikh*, by whose barbarous name (which I have forgotten) the pleasing illusion was instantly dissipated, and I turned abruptly from the grave of a vile Mohammedan saint.

In hopes, however, of discovering that inscription, whether in the Greek, or in the ancient language of this coun-

(16) See the πέπλον χρυσῆν, the κλίνην, the τάπητα επιβλημάτων Βαβυλωνίων, and other things preserved in the Tomb of Cyrus, according to Arrian, (De Exped. Alex. Lib. VI. 29); See also the accounts of this Monument given by Strabo, and Curtius, whose words I shall hereafter compare with Arrian's.

try, which, as some authors have related, was engraved on the monument of Cyrus(17), I examined every stone that bore the appearance of sculpture here and in other burial-places, and wheresoever any could be found. Of the epitaphs many were Arabick; but none, as the character and dates sufficiently evinced, of an age that entitled them to notice. Several tomb-stones exhibited the form of a cypress; and might be here supposed to represent the neighbouring tree, which is now, as in the time of Pietro della Valle, and probably many centuries before, held in almost religious veneration. But this device is not peculiar to the cemeteries of *Fassa;* I have traced it from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian sea; from *Mazenderán* (or Hyrcania) to Constantinople; and the tree itself is dedicated to the dead in both extremities of Asia; in China, as in Turkey.

A man of no contemptible authority informed me that figures of trees and flowers were sometimes carved on sepulchral stones to denote horticulture as having been the vocation of the person interred beneath; thus a soldier's grave is often designated by a sword. But I ascertained in a multiplicity of instances, and he readily acknowledged, that the cypress was not appropriated to gardeners, or to any particular class of people; and

(17) See Strabo, Plutarch, Arrian, &c.

it would be easy to show, were such demonstration necessary, or suited to a book of travels, that, in ages of remote antiquity and in countries widely separated from Persia, this tree has been so intimately associated with the tomb, that poets have employed a variety of epithets to express its funereal character.

The governor, MI'RZA TAKKI, sent me the customary presents of fruit and sweetmeats, with a message signifying that had his health permitted, he should have waited on me in person; at two o'clock I returned this compliment by a visit, at his house, and found him a man of unwieldy bulk and sickly aspect; muffled, though the sun was extremely powerful, in a *baráni* or immense cloak of scarlet cloth(18). He expressed every inclination to serve me; but perceiving him embarrassed by efforts to support conversation, I soon took leave, and proceeded to a *madrassah* (مدرسة), or college of which he had laid the foundation many years ago; a spacious and handsome edifice, but already in a neglected state; the masons are no longer employed, nor is it probable that the work will ever be completed. From this I went again to the great Cypress, and, through the door of the *Masjed* or Mosque, near which it stands, was permitted, to view

(18) A *rain-coat*, (بارانی) *bárání*, so called from *bárán* (باران), rain; but these words are generally pronounced *baroon* and *barooni*.

the interior of this building, where four or five *Dervíshes* were engaged in their devotions. Here I observed some modern tomb-stones neatly carved; one particularly, containing an inscription in very pretty verses, on a woman who had died three years before, was a piece of sculpture not inelegant. That I stopped to admire and read the lines aloud, seemed to afford my companions both pleasure and surprise. The Mosque is old, and like every building in the place, tending rapidly to decay.

A man named KARBELA' GHOLA'M (كربلا غلام), whom the governor had sent, conducted me to the celebrated orange garden by which the air was rendered delightfully fragrant, even at a considerable distance. Here under some shady trees I was invited to partake of lettuces, washed in the *hawz* or reservoir that supplied with water the little rills constantly flowing through every walk, and was itself, as I understood, abundantly filled by the *chashmah i átesh kaddeh*, or "stream from the Fire-Temple," before mentioned. KARBELA' GHOLA'M was shrewd, facetious and well-informed; he had visited some remote provinces of the Empire, and entertained me with many extraordinary observations. He had seen the sculptures of *Bísetún* and *Kirmánsháh*, and his account of those antiquities corresponded so perfectly to the description given by different travellers, that I expected from such a man the most accurate information, respecting whatever

vestiges of former ages might yet remain in the vicinity of *Fassa*, the place of his own abode; but he acknowledged with some degree of reluctance, that it was not possible, at present, to discover any; "a circumstance," he added, "exceedingly wonderful; as all the world knows that "this was a flourishing city many thousand years ago." One of the old guides said something concerning a *Kabrgah-e-Farámarz* (قبرگاه فرامرز), or "Tomb of FARA'MARZ;" the name, though very unlike CAI KHUSRAU, (or Cyrus), was, of ancient celebrity among the Persians, (See Vol. I. p. 204), and I immediately expressed a desire of examining the monument. KARBELA' GHOLA'M readily offered to accompany me, but declared, at the same time, that the object was not worthy of inspection. We rode about one mile, to a small mud-built village, where the tomb, on which I had rested some faint hopes, appeared to have originally consisted of four brick pillars, supporting, probably, an arched or vaulted roof, for such are not uncommon in the cemeteries; but this, like most of the adjacent houses, had fallen to ruin; there were a few sepulchral stones of modern date; they covered the graves of *Muselmáns*.

Having explored several other places in this neighbourhood, I returned to the city, extremely dissatisfied with the result of my antiquarian researches; for Historians and Geographers confirm the local tradition that

assigns a very ancient origin to *Fassa*, or *Basa*; thus during many centuries the Persians have affected to write in the Arabian manner, a name which, as we are informed by a critick, and authorized by analogy to believe, was *Pasá*(19). Concerning this name it will be necessary elsewhere to offer some etymological remarks; I shall here only state that, according to one manuscript copy of TABRI's great Chronicle, out of four in my collection, *Basa* was founded by DA'RA'B, the son of BAHMAN, and father of Darius whom Alexander conquered(20).

EBN HAUKAL's description of this place has already been published; and agrees so nearly with the words of the *Súr al beldán*, that it is sufficient to quote the latter;

(19) GHOLA'M MOHAMMED GHAUTHI (غلام محمد غوثي) in an Octavo MS. Volume of Annotations on the *Tohhfat al Irakein* (تحفة العراقين), a celebrated poem composed by KHA'CA'NI, (خاقاني) in the twelfth century of our era, says

فسا—نام شهريست در نواحي شيراز كه بفارسي پسا خوانند و ابو النخير فسوي از ان شهر بوده

"*Fassa* is the name of a city near the territory of *Shiráz*, called in the *Farsi*, or pure "Persian, *Passa;* and ABU AL KHEIR, (surnamed after the place) *Fassavi*, was from "that city," &c. Thus *Pírúz* becomes *Fírúz*; *Parasang*, *Farsang*; *Sepíd*, *Sefíd* &c. In the *Pahlavi* or ancient Persick, such as it appears on medals and gems, we find but one character to represent P and F. Thus in Hebrew the letter פ (P), serves to express F; and "Franciscus," is written פראנצישקום *Prantzishkus*, and theArabick name (ابو الفرج) "*Abu al faraje*," אבו אל פרג *Abu al parage*. See the fourth part, of Bartoloccii Biblioth. Rabbin. pp. 250, 353.

(20) و بسا بپارس هم وي بنا كرده است

MS. *Tarikh i Tabri*, (No. 3 of my collection), Hist. of DA'RA'B.

"*Fassa* in magnitude, length and breadth is equal and "similar to *Shîráz*, and preferable on account of the "greater purity of its air and water; all the buildings "at *Fassa* are constructed of clay; and in the houses, "cypress-wood is chiefly used; and it is an ancient "city; with a castle and ditch, and fortifications, within "which are the *bázárs* or market-places; and in this city "are found all the fruits of cold and warm regions, "collected together; here are dates and walnuts; *snow* and "oranges"(21). The *Súr al beldán* in another place, notices the rich embroidery, the cloth of gold, and manufacture of hangings for which *Fassa* was remarkable in the tenth century; this passage, almost verbally translated, may be seen in the printed work of EBN HAUKAL, p. 132.

ABU'LFEDA derives his account of *Basa* or *Pasa*, from EBN HAUKAL, as he himself acknowledges(22), adding

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(21) و در بزرگي و طول و عرض مقابل و مماثل شيراز باشد و اب و هوا فسا خوشتر از اب و هوا شيراز ست و بنياد خانها فسا تمامت از كل است و بيشتر چوبها كه در خانها استعمال مي كنند چوب سرو مي باشد و ان شهري قديم است و در انجا قلعه و خندقي و ربضي كرده و بازارها ان شهر در ربض مي باشد و در ان شهر انواع فواكه هست كه در شهرها سردسير وكرمسير مي باشد درانجا با يكديكر جمع مي شوند مثل رطب و كردكان و برف و ترنج

MS. *Súr al beldán.*

(22) ABULFEDA begins his Arabick description thus ومدينه بسا عن ابن حوقل in the Greek translation of which EBN HAUKAL's name appears strange to a classick eye.—Η' πόλις Πασα εστι, κατα τον εμπν Χαουκαλ, &c. See the Geography of ABU'LFEDA with a Greek version by Demetrius Alexandrides, p. 272, 273, Vienna, 1807.

however, a remark; that the city was called *Fasa* according to the Arabick manner; and the local derivative, as a native or inhabitant of it, *Fasavi;* but that such a person, by the people of *Fárs*, was styled *Pasásíri*[23].

Next in chronological order must be cited HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI's account of *Fasár*, as the name appears in my best copies of his work. "In the beginning," says he, "it was erected by FASA'R, the son of TAHMURAS "DI'VBAND; having been destroyed, it was repaired by "GUSHTASP, son of LOHRASP, a Monarch of the *Cainiaan* "dynasty; his grandson, BAHMAN, completed the build- "ing and called it *Sasán;* its plan had been originally "triangular, but in the time of HEJA'JE BEN YUSEF, "a man named AZA'DMARD, his collector of revenue, "renewed the edifices under a different form; when again "ruined by the *Shebangárians*, the ATABEG JA'VELI caused "it to be rebuilt. And it has been a considerable city, "and possesses many territories; its climate is warm, and "not having any river, it is supplied with water by artifi- "cial conduits; it yields the fruit of cold and warm "countries; of the places dependent on it, *Shek* and "*Rúd* and *Peishkánát* are of the *garmsír* or warm region,

(23) و بسا تقال بالعربية فسا و ينسب اليها بالعربية فسوي و اهل فارس ينسبون اليها البساسيري ABU'LFEDA, as above quoted, p. 272.

"and abound in corn. It has also many other territories, "the enumeration of which would be tedious"(24).

After this account, written in the fourteenth century, I shall extract from HA'FIZ A'BRU''s chronicle, a rare and excellent work of the fifteenth, his description of *Pasa*, as the name appears in the Manuscript before me. "King BAHMAN, the father of DA'RA'B, founded *Pasa*, "which was (once) a city, but at present is in a state "of decay; it has many dependent territories; and all "the water is supplied by conduits; it has not any "fountain, nor river; the air is temperate and salu- "brious, and the place is pretty and extremely pleas- "ant; it produces at once all the fruits of cold and "warm countries; so that in one garden may be "found together, nuts and oranges, grapes and figs, such "as do not grow elsewhere in this district. It had a

(24) در اول فسار بن طهمورث دیوبند ساختة بود خراب شد کشتاسپ بن لهراسپ کیاني تجدید عمارتش کرد و نبیره اش بهمن بن اسفندیار با تمام رسانید و ساسان نام کرد و در اول مثلث بود بعهد حجاج بن یوسف عاملش ازادمرد نام بفرمان او انرا از ان شکل بکردانید و تجدید عمارتش کرد چون از شبانکاریان خرابي یافت آنابک جاولي باز معمور کردانید شهري بزرک بوده است و اعمال و نواحي بسیار دارد هوایش کرمسیر است و انش از قنوات و هیچ اب رود ندارد و میوه کسرمیري و سردسیري نیز باشد از نواحیش شق و رود و پیشکانات کرمسیرست و غله بوم و دیکر نواحي بسیار دارد که همه را ذکر دراز کشد

MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*, (ch. 12). The ATABEG JA'VELI mentioned in this extract, governed *Fárs* under the *Seljúkian* Sultáns, about the year 535, or of the Christian Era, 1140.

"castle strongly fortified, which the *Shebangárians* de-
"stroyed and the ATABEG JA'VELI repaired"(25).

Neither in these nor any other passages relative to this city, which Oriental works have offered in the course of my reading, is Cyrus mentioned; and the present inhabitants seem totally unacquainted with that illustrious hero, the KHUSRAU of Persian writers, who prefix to his name the Imperial title *Cai*, that distinguished their monarchs of the second race; yet the word *Pasa* would indicate a perfect identity with the *Pasagarda* of Greek and Latin authors; who describe, as there situate, the extraordinary sepulchre of Cyrus; for it is not unreasonable to suppose that the local adjunct *gerd* or *gird* (گرد) has been applied here, as in various other instances; thus a neighbouring town retains, in books, the compound denomination of *Dárábgerd*, though simply called, in familiar conversation, *Dáráb*. The termination *gerd* does not, however, appear annexed to the name of *Pasa*, *Basa*, or *Fasa* in any manuscripts which I have had

(25) پسا—بهمن پدر دارا بنا کرده است و شهري بوده است اما حالا ويرانه است اعمال و نواحي بسيار دارد و ابهاي ان نواحي جمله از کاريز است و هيچ چشمه و ابي رودي نيست و هواي ان معتدل است و درست و جايي خرم و نيکو ست و ميوهاي سردسيري و گرمسيري جمله باشد چنانکه در يک باغ درخت جوز و نارنج و ترنج و انکور و انجير و مانند اين ميوهاي گرمسير و سردسير بهم باشد و مثل اين در ان نواحي ديکر نيست و حصاري داشته است محکم شبانکاريان خراب کرد و اتابک چاولي انرا عمارت کرد

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an opportunity of consulting; nor is it ever used by the Persians when speaking of this place(26).

The narrative of my travels must not be here interrupted by an antiquarian discussion of considerable length respecting the Tomb of Cyrus, which may hereafter form the subject of a particular essay; meanwhile, as that ancient monument has probably excited the curiosity of some readers, I refer them to the Appendix of this Volume for a passage extracted from my *History of Alexander*, written in the year 1809; the only portion of that work hitherto committed to the press.

On the twenty-third, we left *Fassa*, at five o'clock in the morning; and passed, within half a mile of the town, a castle with many *burges* or towers; the walls, recently built of brick and mud, had already fallen in several places; a little farther, we went into the flourishing garden called *Rahmetabád* (رحمتاباد) belonging to the governor, MI'RZA TAKKI; here I was overwhelmed with roses; in gathering of which, it appeared to me, as on many other occasions, that the Persians content them-

(26) The Manuscript Dictionaries *Jehángíri* and *Berhán Kattea* inform us that *gerd* or *gird* (گرد with the vowel accent *kesr*), is equivalent to *medínah* (مدينه), *shahr* (شهر), *beldeh* (بلدة), &c. and signifies a "town or city," thus *Siáves h-gird* (سیاوش گرد) *Veiseh-gird* (ویسه گرد) and *Dárab-gird* (دارابگرد) imply cities which those illustrious personages, SIA'VESH, VEISEH and DA'RA'B founded, or rendered remarkable.

selves with the flower, which they pluck without either green leaves or any portion of stalk. From this garden we proceeded in the direction of South South East.

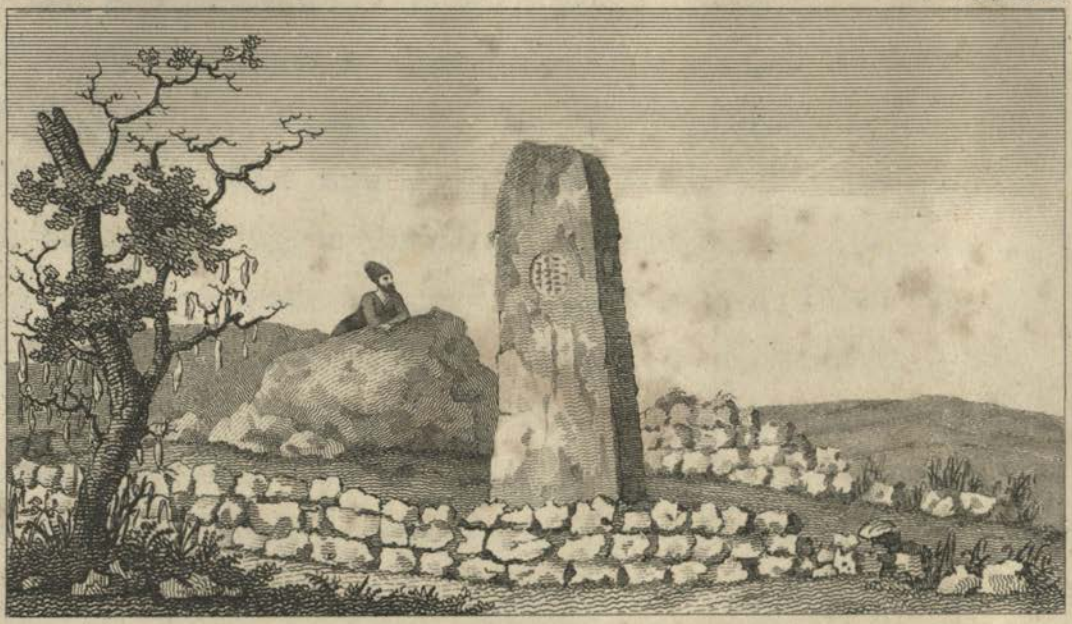
I had not altogether relinquished my hopes of finding in the *Belúkát* of *Fassa*, or district dependent on that city, some interesting remains; for KARBELA GHOLA'M had taught me to expect both there and at *Dáráb*, many objects which he described in his usual vague manner, as *mál-i-kadím* (مال قدیم) "things appertaining to antiquity." About two miles from *Fassa* we descended into a broad and deep ditch, now without water, inclosing a piece of land above a mile square; through this lay our road; I alighted to inspect a vast pile of earth on the left within this inclosure; it rises abruptly from the level ground like an insulated mountain, yet is, probably, artificial; indeed, according to popular tradition, one of the most ancient kings being desirous of erecting a castle here, caused the clay and sand which compose this heap, to be brought from *Hindústán;* as the foundations formed of the local soil had proved insecure, and frequently crumbled away. By a steep and difficult path I climbed to the summit of this *acropolis;* from so elevated a situation the view was uncommonly grand; *Fassa* bearing North-East; at its foot runs a small stream; and some holes in the sides, made perhaps by jackalls or other beasts, terminate, it is supposed, in caverns where treasures of

incalculable value are perpetually guarded by talismans and dragons. Vestiges of buildings, though not visible on the heap itself, are numerously scattered over the plain below; and among several large stones which I examined, one seemed to have been inscribed with characters; but these were few and very rudely cut; they appeared as in the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 9.

This place is called, after its reputed founder, *Calaa ï Zohák,* (قلعهٔ ضحاک) "the castle of ZOHA'K, or DHEHA'K;" a name which Persian etymologists derive from the words *deh-ák,* (ده اک) alluding to ten vices or defects by which that tyrant was rendered odious(27).

A little beyond this, and about a mile off the road on our right, was the *Dhey Dastah* (ده دسته) or "village "of *Dastah.*" At four miles from *Fassa* we discerned, also on the right, and crowning the summit of a hill near its extremity, an object which resembled, on a distant view, some of our British Druidical *Cromlechs.* It lay above a mile off our road; and the interjacent space consisted either of ploughed or inclosed land, or pieces of ground divided by various drains which seemed to render them almost impassable. But when a peasant

(27) That ZOHA'K, DHOHA'K, or more properly DEHA'K (for in *Pahlavi* it is written, دهاک) appears to be the name which by addition of a common Greek termination became *Deiokes* (Δηιοκης) I have already observed, in Vol. I. p. 49.



Fire Altar near Tang i Kerm. p. 80.

W. O. delt. H. Mutlow sculp.

Khâneh Gabrân. p. 105.

from the village of *Dasteh* informed me that the subject of my inquiry was a *sang khyli kadím* (سنک خیلي قدیم) "or "a very ancient stone," and called the *Kháneh i Gabrán* (خانه گبران) "or mansion of the Fire-worshippers," . all obstacles vanished and I soon found myself ascending the steep and rugged mountain on which it stands. Its singular appearance induced me, whilst yet below the level, to alight and make the annexed delineation, (pl. XXXII). It is a mass of stone or rather of the hardest cement in which stones of different kinds and colours are thickly incrusted, and become united as in one solid rock, of an irregular oblong form, about fifty feet long, and twelve or thirteen high; with a passage through, not directly from one extremity to the other, but issuing on the left side; on the right are two or three small openings or fissures. In the plan, which I sketched on the spot, and have given in the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 10, letter *a* corresponds to the mouth or entrance, about eight feet wide and four feet high, represented in the view; *b*, denotes the passage; *c*, the entrance or opening on the left side; *d*, *e*, the fissures in the right side; *f*, the foundations of stone walls with a narrow entrance; *g*, foundations of other walls.

From this it is evident that art has been here employed, although the principal object must be, as appeared to me (but my companions denied) a work of nature. It is nearly

flat on the outside, like a large table or altar, and the passage, which I minutely examined, is not above four feet high, smooth on the sides and upper part or ceiling, and in some places considerably polished; but I could not discover any inscriptions or other sculptures. The villager who described this work as a monument of antiquity, had mentioned that carved figures and remains of edifices were visible here; besides the foundations of walls, expressed in the plan, we traced for several hundred yards about this spot, numerous vestiges of stone and mortar-buildings. Near the entrance of the outer inclosure, marked *f*) on the right hand, is a deep well; and the mountain is washed at its base, by a clear running stream; on the bank of this we perceived a rude stone exhibiting the outlines of two birds, as represented in the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 11. The stone is about two feet long.

We then proceeded, and overtook the baggage which had been sent on, at the village of *Sahrárúd* (سحرارود) five miles from *Fassa;* three miles further we saw the village of *Mohammedabád* (محمدابادٔ) on our left; and soon after reached the foot of *Kúh-e-nokreh* (کوه نقره) or "silver "mountain," where, as a peasant informed us, mines had formerly been worked(28); there was here a small, clear

(28) This mine had probably been abandoned, like many others in Persia, when the produce was found inadequate to the labour of working; or when, as the peasant significantly said, *deh kharje nuh hásel* (ده خرج نه حاصل) "the expense amounted

brook, also the bed, now without water, of a large river. At about eleven miles, we passed between two steep and rocky mountains, our path crossing the dry river-bed; and on the summit of a lofty hill, towards the left, we saw a ruined *burge* or tower. My map will shew the inflexions made by our course hitherto. From this place we advanced nearly South-South-East, over an extensive plain in many parts very highly cultivated. On the left, close to our road, was one village, much decayed, called *Dhey Khánakáh* (ده خانقاه) with a few date trees; and another, the *Dhey Sanán* (ده سنان) a little further, on our right, where the trees were more numerous; also the village of *Fedishgán* (فدشکان). About three miles farther I took a sketch of *Záhedán* (زاهدان) with its date-trees, and the tomb of its rustick Saint or *Imámzádeh:* a better and larger building of this kind than many villages can exhibit. The most distant hills appearing in the annexed View of this place (See Plate XXXI. No. 3) are called, as a peasant informed me, the *Kuh-Calaa i Tavara* or "mountains of the castle of *Tavara;*" a name which I never saw written, but believe to have been erroneously pro-

"to ten; the profit only to nine." This expression was proverbially applied to the mines of *Kerven*, as Tavernier informs us, (Voyages, Liv. IV), "*Nokeré Kerven dehkrage noh hassel; c'est a dire; l'argent de la mine de Kerven, ou l'on fait dix de depense pour en retirer neuf.*"

nounced(29). The journey of this day seemed at least seventeen miles; it is generally reckoned four farsangs.

At ZA'HEDA'N I was hospitably received and well accommodated in a house belonging to the *Zábet*, the Chief-man or Magistrate, who was absent. Here we discovered that one of my canteen-bottles, filled with excellent wine, had been broken by the kick of a horse; the other was nearly empty; for SHI'R KHA'N BEG on the very first morning of our expedition, acknowledged candidly his doubts respecting the impropriety of drinking fermented liquors; and on the second he plainly asked for some, and frequently after. Seeing the stock both of Madeira and *Shirâz* wine reduced to a bare sufficiency for two or three days, he cursed from the bottom of his heart the horse that broke the bottle, and the rider of that horse; the mule that carried the canteens, and the man who drove the mule; besides the wives, daughters and sisters of both those unlucky men; whilst he consoled himself and me by the consideration that we might soon be enabled to procure what would, at least, intoxicate; "I have heard,

(29) I am inclined to think the name *Tavarak* or rather *Tabarak;* and would write كوه قلعه تبرک. There are two or three castles in Persia called *Tabarak*, besides that which I saw at *Isfahán;* indeed according to the M.S. Dict. *Berh. Katt.* this word *tabarak* (تبرک) may signify any fortress or castle in general, though peculiarly applied to the citadel of *Isfahán*.

هر حصار و قلعه را گویند عموما و قلعه صفاهان را خصوصا

"said he," that *Dáráb* is an admirable place; that the "people there extract very strong arrack from dates, "and that they are always drunk."

I found the inhabitants of *Záhedán* extremely civil and obliging; they furnished me with a plentiful dinner of lamb and fowls; pomegranates, apples, small and not quite ripe, but of pleasant flavour; and excellent dates which they recommended as being *máli-Jahrum* (مال جهرم) the product of *Jahrum*(30); besides roses, lavishly bestowed, as usual. The principal *Kedkhodá*, or householder, now representing the *Zábet*, paid me a respectful visit, and seemed anxious to show what he considered most worthy of notice in the village or its vicinity; I accompanied him about half a mile to a large and handsome garden, on entering which he immediately offered me two or three flowers, "not," said he, on account of their beauty "or their fragrance, but to signify, that the garden is "your own." Here we walked in a plantation of date

(30) A town of *Fárs*, situate Southward of *Fassa*; it was in the tenth century remarkable, according to the MS. *Súr al Beldán*, for a manufacture of the silk stuff originally called *Vashi* (وشي) from *Vash* in *Turkestán*. When HAMDALLAH composed his Geographical work in the fourteenth century, *Jahrum* was a city of middling rank, but of ancient foundation; for he ascribes it to BAHMAN, the son of ISFENDYAR; he notices the warmth of its air, and its strong castle called (خورشه) *Khúrsheh*. We read in the MS. Chronicle of HA'FIZ A'BRU', that among those who formerly governed *Fárs*, the reigning prince always assigned *Jahrum* to the person whom he appointed his successor. The dates of *Gerom* are celebrated by Dr. Fryer, (Travels, p. 242, Lond. 1698), and Sir Thomas Herbert calls it *Jaarown*, (Travels, p. 129, 3rd edit. 1665). I observed that by the lower classes its name was pronounced *Jahroon*.

trees, *nar ú mádeh* (نر و ماده) "male and female," and seated ourselves, at the *asl-i-mián-e-bágh* (اصل میان باغ), that place in the very centre of the inclosure from which four walks, one exactly like another, branch off at right angles; in this spot is generally a *hawz* or reservoir, supplying with water the borders of each walk; but an eye accustomed to the neatness of English horticulture is offended by the weeds and stones, allowed to remain in most Persian gardens, among beautiful shrubs and flowers.

My inquiries on the subject of antiquities were not attended with much success; an old villager who had joined the *kedkhodá* during our ramble, mentioned a cemetery which contained inscriptions in the *Khat-i-kúfi* (خط کوفي) "or Cufic character." As I knew that by these terms or by *Khat-e-Frangki* (خط فرنکي), European characters, the people of this country most commonly described whatever kind of writing appeared ancient, or was to them unintelligible, (for so they denominate the *Pahlavi* and even the *arrow-headed* or *Persepolitan* letters); I hastened to view those monuments, passing through another garden, the property of a widow, whose brother as her representative, complimented me on entering the door, with some fruit and flowers. Adjoining to this, in a place, not used by the last or present generation for the purposes of interment, were many tomb-stones, inscribed with well-cut epitaphs in the Arabick language;

of these, the most ancient that I could discover, was dated in *tesaain wa setmaieh* (تسعين و ستاية) or 690, corresponding to the year of our era, one thousand two hundred and ninety one.

According to the statement of my companions, seemingly exaggerated, the village of *Záhedán* comprised three hundred families or houses; and was supplied by *canáts* or artificial conduits, with water not remarkable either for clearness or salubrity.

24. We began our journey at five o'clock in the morning, and, after a most tedious ride of twelve hours reached the *manzil* or halting-place, *Khusúieh*, (خسويه) an inconsiderable village, said to be distant from *Záhedán* ten farsangs; but it is, more probably, forty miles; of these, thirty four presented such a picture of depopulation as cannot easily be imagined; for having passed the mud-built hovels of *Nasrábád* (نصراباد), we saw not during that space one house, nor, besides our own party, more than one human being; the road was in general rough and bad; extending with a dreary sameness over long tracts of flat and barren country; or passing among rugged, stony hills; and in many places so narrow as scarcely to admit a loaded mule; there was neither a river nor a running stream of any kind; not above ten or eleven trees, and only one well, of which even extreme thirst did not induce me to taste the water a second time.

The annexed map will shew our direction; the principal objects noticed this day were, the road to *Jahrum*, turning off on our right towards the South-East; within the first three miles several fine fields of corn; at three miles and a half, the deep channel (now without water) of a considerable river; at four miles a village called *Miándeh* (میانده), on the right, with a few cypresses and date-trees; at five miles on the right, two hills resembling those conical heaps of earth which in various parts of the world appear to have been formerly constructed as sepulchral monuments; on the summit of one is a *burge* or tower; erected, according to tradition, about two hundred years ago, by the great Monarch SHA'H ABBA'S (شاه عباس) in honour of the officer who presided over his stables; this unfortunate man on some ill-founded suspicion, he had beheaded, and discovering proofs of his innocence immediately after the execution, caused the body to be there interred; the heap or hillock is denominated *Tel-i-mír-ákhúr* (تل میر اخور) which may be translated the "Chief-"groom's *tumulus*" in either sense allowed to this latin word by the old grammarian Servius([31]). Nearly opposite on the left, was *Násrábád* above mentioned, a small village.

([31]) "Tumulus; modò terra tumens; aliàs sepulchrum." Serv. ad Virg. Æn. II. 713. But the dictionaries do not assign the latter sense to *tel* (تل) in Persian; nor to תל in Hebrew, although it may be implied. In the Turkish word *tepeh* (تپه) which the Persians pronounce *tappeh*, signifying a hillock or small tumular mountain, we may fancy a resemblance to the Greek *ταφος* (sepulchrum) or *ταφη* (sepultura) and it is applied (though not exactly in this sense) to some of the sepulchral heaps near Troy.

We had now entered the vast *Sahhrâ* (صحرا) or uncultivated plain of *Garápaigán* (گراپایگان), bounded on both sides by lofty mountains; here, it is said, king *Varahrán* or *Bahrám* surnamed *Gúr*, frequently indulged in his favourite pleasures of the chase; at twelve or thirteen miles (from *Záhedán)* our road lay among the tomb-stones of an *Iliát* cemetery; one exhibited a Persian epitaph, neatly and recently cut; and another, some rude characters; sufficient, however, to indicate the grave of a relation or of a friend, and perhaps, the burial-place of a particular family; for the *Iliát* tribes return with their flocks at certain seasons to those spots which they had before occupied; the characters on this stone appeared as represented in the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 12.

A little beyond this cemetery we passed the bed of a river now dry; at twenty miles we rode through another river-bed, very deep, but likewise without water; and turned off the road towards our right, where under the shade of four or five large *bíd* (بید) or willow-trees, we rested about half an hour; this place is called *Melek Ali penáh* (ملک علي پناه). We found here a man belonging to some neighbouring *ordú* (اردو) or camp of *Iliáts*, who supplied us with sour milk; this, as the day was very warm, proved a delicious beverage, although it had acquired a strong flavour and much dirt from the bag of ill-tanned leather in which he carried it. Six or seven

miles farther we stopped at the *Cháh-e-Kúch* (چاه کوچ), a well that gives its name to the plain; here we filled with water two *matarrahs*, leather vessels before described, (See Vol. I. p. 247, and Miscellaneous Plate, No. 12); but these were exhausted before the end of our journey, and several of the party thought themselves fortunate in discovering among hollows at the foot of rocks, a stagnant puddle of which they attempted to drink; but the green surface being slightly stirred, the mud and water appeared so animated by insects, that we would not allow even the thirsty mules and horses to imbibe them.

From this we proceeded along the desert; then for some miles over a *kutel* or hilly country, and at length saw the date-trees of *Khesuieh* (خسویه), a mean village where I was lodged in the mud-built castle, of which the best room had been prepared for my reception, its former tenants, five or six soldiers, having removed their carpets to the roof; they left, however, several swords, two matchlock muskets and a pair of red leather boots, an old saddle, and a shield suspended from a long spear stuck at both ends into holes scooped in the opposite walls. Those men, as a peasant said, were stationed here that they might protect the inhabitants and travellers from robbers who had lately begun to commit depredations in this district; and it was added that the danger of meeting such outlaws would increase

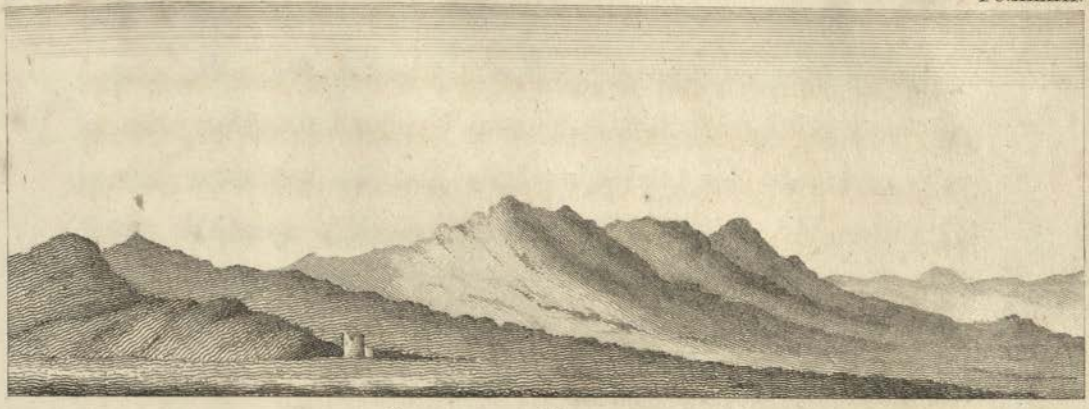
towards the borders of *Kermán*, from which we were now not very distant.

So much delay occurred in procuring and cooking a fowl, that I was indebted for my dinner to the kindness of an absent friend, who, in London, had put among my baggage, a square tin case of portable soup, brought from Paris above eight years before, and still excellent, after having twice crossed the equinoctial line; good bread and dates were abundantly furnished by the people of the place, so I enjoyed a hearty meal and lay down in expectation of sound sleep after a fatiguing ride. But many circumstances conspired against my repose; several persons of the village and three or four soldiers had kindled, almost under the castle-gate, a fire round which they sat and talked until midnight, so near me, that I could distinctly hear whatever they said; for the door of my room was necessarily left open to admit air, there not being any window or other aperture. Here, during at least three hours, they entertained themselves and me, by relating facetious and romantick anecdotes. One man recited the wonderful adventures of celebrated heroes and princesses, and fluently (but not always correctly), quoted the verses of FIRDAUSI, which a repeated perusal of his *Sháh Námah*, or "Book of Kings," had rendered familiar to my recollection. After these, succeeded five or six stories of a very different kind;

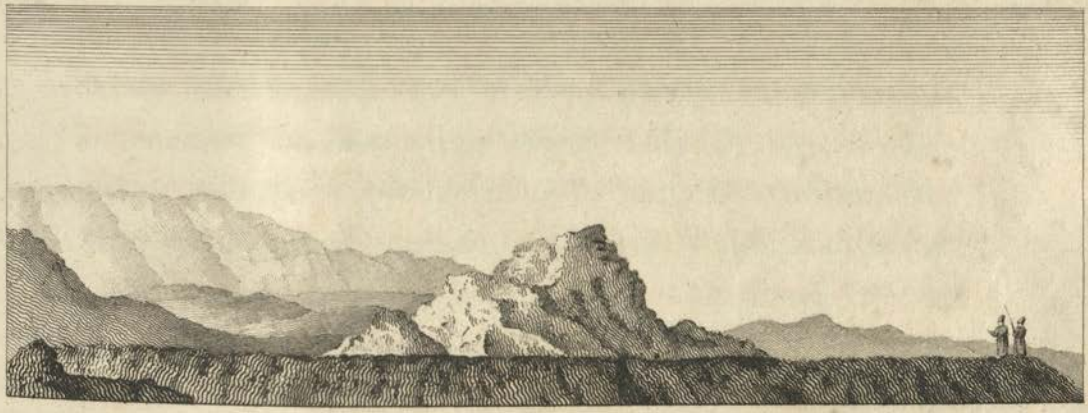
perfectly new to me and not less interesting or amusing than those Arabian tales, so long, in various translations, the delight of Europe. Of those stories, although there seemed a regular concatenation, each was in itself complete, and independent of any other; and the chain might have been prolonged indefinitely, according to the narrator's pleasure, and the powers of his memory or of his invention(32).

This nocturnal recreation, however, was abruptly terminated by an alarm outside the walls, which induced the soldiers to remove their swords and muskets from my room; the alarm proved to be false, but the guards remained upon the roof. All was now silent but not quiet, for innumerable fleas tormented me until morning, when I perceived that vermine of a more disgusting nature had attached themselves to my person; the discovery mortified me extremely, as I had hitherto escaped that ancient plague in a country where persons even of the higher orders are not exempt from it, and may be seen, without a blush, picking lice off their clothes or from their beards.

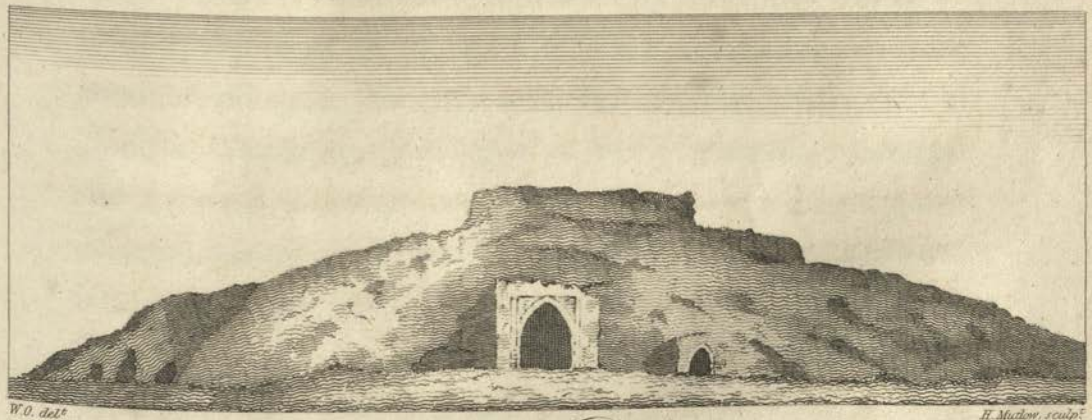
(32) The principal facts of two or three stories that particularly interested me, I committed to paper from memory; others, not the least humorous or facetious, were unfortunately of such a nature, that it would be hardly possible to lay them before the English reader in a decent dress. One of the most gross, (and seemingly the favourite), I have since recognised in a collection of similar stories, partly occupying a quarto volume, which was given to me at *Isfáhán*, and shall be hereafter noticed among other manuscripts procured there.



Mummy Mountain. p. 117.



Castle of Dehâyeh. p. 123.



W.O. delt. H. Mutlow, sculpt.

Caravanserai Dûb. p. 138.

25. We left *Khesúieh*, early on the twenty-fifth, and at one mile and a half from that village (which belongs to the territory of (دارابگرد) *Darábgerd)*, I sketched the *Kúh Múmiáy* (کوه مومیاي) or "Mummy Mountain," situate within three or four miles. It is seen in the engraving (Pl. XXXIII), between some nearer hills on the left and those distant on the right called *Kúh Dirakhty* (کوه درختي), from which it does not much differ in outline or general appearance, although when first discerned on the preceding day, I fancied that it presented a darker surface than any of the adjacent mountains. It is rendered an interesting object only by the extraordinary substance produced in its internal cavities, the *Múmiáy* (مومیاي) or mummy, a blackish, bituminous matter which oozes from the rock, and is considered by the Persians as far more precious than gold; for it heals cuts and bruises, as they affirm, almost immediately; causes fractured bones to unite in a few minutes, and, taken inwardly, is a sovereign remedy for many diseases. I informed some of those who were describing its miraculous efficacy, that an experiment had been lately made at *Shiráz* on the leg of a fowl, purposely broken and anointed with mummy; when Mr. Sharp the surgeon declared his opinion, that the application of any common bitumen would have been attended with equal success. One of the men coolly replied, that we had probably been deceived; that mummy of an inferior quality was

sometimes found in different places, but that this was the true and original source of that inestimable medicine. It does not, indeed, appear that any other was acknowledged as genuine by those Eastern writers whose works have fallen under my inspection, although mummy brought from various parts of the kingdom, has been frequently offered for sale to gentlemen of the Embassy.

According to the *Súr al beldán*, (a work of the tenth century) there was in the territory of *Dárábgerd* a mountain with an excavation yielding the mummy which was gathered for the King; to this place were attached numerous officers commissioned to guard it; and once every year at a certain time they opened the door of that cavern, in which was a stone, perforated with a small hole; and in this the mummy was found collected; the produce (of one year) our author describes as equal in size to a pomegranate; and it was sealed in the presence of honest and upright persons, priests and magistrates, and deposited in the Royal Treasury; "and this" adds he, "is the true, unadulterated "mummy; that sent to the King from every other place "is altogether spurious, and has not in its composition "any real mummy; in the vicinity of this cavern there is "a village called *Ayín* (or rather *Ayí*) the name of which "has been compounded with *múm* or "wax" so as to

"form the word *múm-i-ayi* or "the wax of that village"(33). The more concise account, given in EBN HAUKAL'S translated work (p. 133) sufficiently agrees with this.

The *Seir al belád* describing the district of *Dárábgerd* quotes ISTAKHRI, who says; "the pure mummy is "brought from this country to *Shiráz*; and that which is "common in the hands of people must be a counter-"feited mixture, as the genuine mummy is found only "in the Royal Treasury of that place(34).

HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI enumerating minerals and other terrene productions, informs us that mummy is an earth (زميني) of which the predominant excellencies are warmth, adhesion, and unctuosity; when from its natural moisture a quantity of it has been formed, and issues from the ground, this unctuous substance becomes condensed by the air and resembles wax. "The soil of *Ayï*, a village "in *Shebángáreh*, is most remarkable for this production;

(33) و مومیایي درست که هیچ غش و خیانت در ان نیست اینست و انچ غیر ازین از اطراف بخدمت سلطان نقل مي کنند تمامت مزور است و هیچ مومیاي در ان نمي باشد و بنزدیک ان غار دیهي هست که انرا ایین مي خوانند و ان دیه را بدان نسبت مي برند و معني ایین یعني موم دیه است
MS. *Súr al Beldán.*

(34) اصطخري کوید که مومیاي خالص از انجا بشیراز برند—هر چه در دست مردم از مومیایست ان مخلوط است و مومیاي خالص بجز در خزانه پادشاه انجا نباشد
MS. *Seir al Belád.*

"it has therefore been called after that place, *mumi-*
"*ayï* or "the wax of *Ayï*;" a name which describes the
"very thing; its nature is hot and dry in the second
"degree; and it has the property of curing faintness, palsy,
"convulsions, epilepsy and vertigo or head-aches; it is
"also useful in heaviness of the tongue, inflammations of
"the throat, fractures of the limbs, splenetick affections,
"and in tremors or palpitations"(35).

HA'FIZ A'BRU', also, in his MS. Chronicle, notices "the mummy produced in the territory of *Dárábgerd*, "oozing from a mountain drop by drop"(36).

Such is the celebrated mummy, of which Eastern Princes, both the giver and receiver, esteem a very small

(35) چون زمین ده ایي شبانکاره‌را این قوت بیشترست انرا بدان ده باز خوانند موم ایي گفتند مومیایي اسم و علم طبعش کرم و خشکست بدرجه دوم خاصیتش سستي دل و فالج و لقوه و صرع و صداع و کراني زبان و خناق و شکستکي اعضا و طحال و خفقان را مفید است

MS. *Nozhat al Colúb.* (Part I. chap. of Minerals, &c). That which I have rendered *heaviness of the tongue*, occurs in Father Angelo's Pharmacopœia Persica, p. 311; describing a certain electuary (consisting of forty-one different ingredients), he says "aurium et *linguæ gravedini* medetur." This, on inspection of the original work which that ingenious Missionary translated, (composed by MOZAFFER EBN MOHAMMED AL HUSEINY, مظفر بن محمد الحسيني) a valuable MS. in my own collection, I find thus expressed, و کراني کوش و زبان زایل کند

(36) و مومیاي از ان ناحیت خیزد از کوهي قطره قطره میچکد

MS. *Tárikh i Háfiz Abrú.*

portion, as a present of considerable value. Some was brought by MIRZA ABU'L HASSAN, in 1809, from the King of Persia to the Queen of England; and a man at *Isfáhán* demanded nine *tománs*, (or about eight pounds), and would not accept less from a gentleman of our party, for as much as a common-sized walnut-shell might have contained. With the extracts above-given from Persian manuscripts, respecting the mummy of *Dárábgerd*, various European travellers agree in their accounts. D'Herbelôt seems to have confounded this natural production of the rock with artificial or *human* mummy; of which, however, the Persians are not ignorant, as I shall prove in the Appendix, (No. 5); where, also, I propose to cite Father Angelo, Kæmpfer, and other travellers.

At four miles from *Khesûieh* we passed over some steep hills by a very bad road, and descended on the other side into the *Sahhra-i-Bízdán* (صحرا بیزدان) a plain so called from the village of *Bízdán* (here pronounced *Bízdoon*) which is shaded by date-trees; this plain appeared almost enclosed within mountains, having, towards the North, the *Kúh Dirakhty* before mentioned, where *Bezoar* (See p. 78), is found in great abundance. Near the village over a stream which in the winter must be considerable, is a bridge (the *Pul-i-Bízdán*) of eight large and three or four small arches, but without battlements. Beyond this,

the plain, a continuation of the former, is denominated *Sahhra-i-Dáráb* (صحرا داراب). At eleven miles we saw the mud-built castle with six towers, and the village of *Juzján* (جزجان) on the right; and three miles farther the *Calaï-now-Dáráb* (قلعهٔ نو داراب) or "new castle of *Dáráb*," also on the right; about these places were many date-trees, and some extensive fields of corn.

Here a *Siah-chádri* (سیاه چادری) or one who inhabits the "black tents"(37), an *Iliát* from the neighbouring *ordú* or camp, supplied us with excellent milk and curds; and as we afterwards rode by his humble dwelling, a woman to whom he spoke, offered me some cheese, pressed into balls not larger than an apple of middling size, and white as snow; these in a few days became extremely hard; and one which I kept for several months, when bruised and diluted with water, formed a cooling and pleasant beverage, slightly acid(38).

Having approached within three miles of *Dáráb*, we turned off on the right to visit the *Calaaï Dehâyeh*, or

(37) I have seen the word *chatr* (چتر) "an umbrella," used for "tent."

(38) It is said that coagulated milk, indurated by compression and exsiccation, lasts a considerable time. To prepare it after that manner, was an art probably known in Persia long before Zoroaster; who, as Pliny informs us on the authority of an old tradition, lived twenty years in desert places, on cheese so tempered that age did not affect it. "Tradunt Zoroastrem in desertis caseo vixisse annis viginti, "ita temperato ut vetustatem non sentiret." (Nat. Hist. Lib. xi. cap. 42).

Deh-i-aih[39]; an extensive piece of ground enclosed within a ditch extremely deep and wide, and a bank or rampart of earth, proportionably high; this, as the name implies, was anciently a fortress, and in the midst of its enclosure, rising like a mountain, is a huge, rugged and insulated rock. Here, according to local information, the castle or citadel of *Dárábgerd* had been erected; for thus far the city is said to have once extended. In the sides of this rock are several caves, some natural and others probably artificial; as I discovered, communicating between two, a door-way, cut through the solid stone. There are numerous remains of buildings about this place, which deserves a more minute examination than I could bestow. The rock or *castle*, as it was called, appears in the view (Pl. XXXIII), rising above the middle of the rampart or earthen bank; on the left are the barren and lofty mountains of *Dáráb*; and more distant, towards the right, are seen the hills of (ده خير) *Dhey Kheir*.

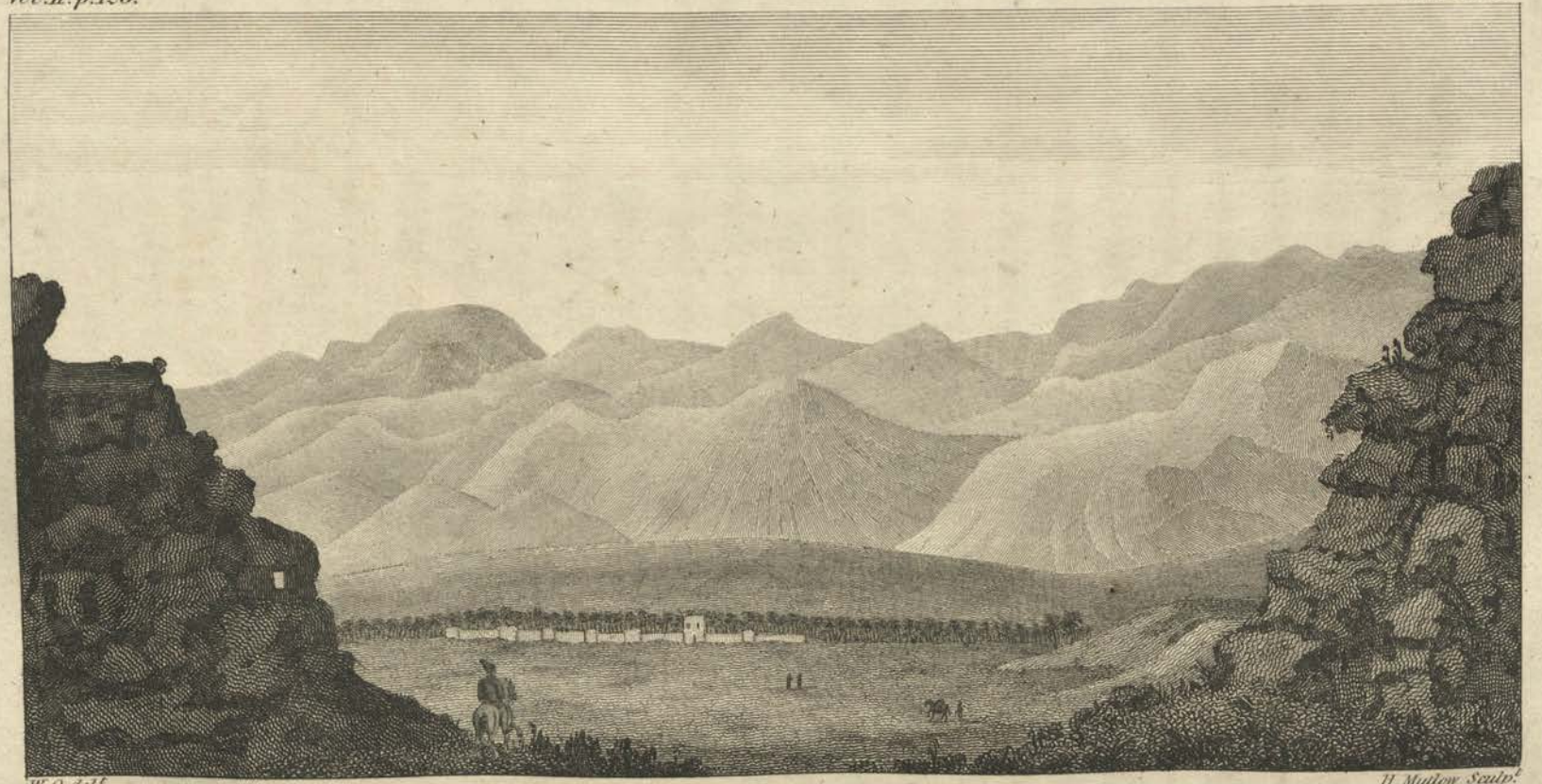
Within the enclosure is an extraordinary upright stone, single, and at least twenty feet high; its shape may be best described by a representation given in the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 13. Concerning this stone many wonderful

(39) The name of this place was written for me by different Persians دحيه and ده ايه Near it was a village perhaps the ايي which contributed its name, if we may depend on Eastern Etymologists, to form the word *múmiáyï*, as appears from page 118, 119, &c.

anecdotes are related; it will suffice to mention one, as the others are of similar import and of equal authenticity; a woman in the time of DA'R'AB having been guilty of treachery towards that monarch, was punished by sudden petrifaction, and has ever since continued to exist, but under the form of this stone.

In another part of the enclosed space, on a rising ground, were several large and rude stones, forming a cluster irregularly circular, which, from its appearance, a British antiquary might be almost authorized to pronounce Druidical; according to the general application of this word among us(40). I can scarcely think the arrangement of those stones wholly, though it may be partly, natural or accidental. Some of them are from twenty to twenty-five feet high; one, very tall, stands nearly in the middle; another, towards the West, resembles a table or altar, being flat at the top; and under two or three are recesses or small caverns. I found it impossible to comprehend the aggregate of those objects at once in such a view as

(40) What monuments may with propriety by styled Druidical, I am not qualified to judge. The subject has engaged and embarrassed many learned men, some of whom appear not to have held in due recollection or respect, the severe decision of that able antiquary Pinkerton. "Those who speak of Druids in Germany, Cale-"donia or Ireland, speak utter nonsense, and have not a single authority to support "them.—Druidic antiquities there can be none, except there be any oak trees two "thousand years old; those childishly called Druidic are Gothic, and are found in "Iceland and other countries where the very name of Druid was unknown." Dissert. on the Scythians or Goths, Part I. ch. 4. p. 68, (Lond. 1787. oct).



W. O. del.t

H. Mudlow Sculp.t

Dárál.

might convey a just idea of them; but the subjoined sketch will serve, perhaps, to illustrate the description above given, (See Miscellaneous Plate, No. 14). In this place were very large and uncommon lizards. We left the castle, which I recommend to the investigation of future travellers, by a path near some walls and arches on our right, still twenty feet high, the remains of an ancient aqueduct; and passing on our left, the little village of *Dehiáyeh*, we proceeded to a pass between two hills of rock, about one mile and a half from *Dárábgerd*. I stopped there to delineate the town, the date-trees, which partly conceal it, and the fine plain beyond, richly covered with corn-fields, and bounded by magnificent mountains; choosing that point of view which enabled me to express a singular door-way or window, cut through the solid rock of the mountain on our left hand, (See Plate XXXIV). Soon after this, we terminated our morning's ride; the distance from *Khesúieh* to *Dáráb*, being about five farsangs, eighteen or nineteen miles; during which we crossed various streams of limpid water.

I was conducted by some persons whom the governor, Mi'rza Fath Ali (میرزا فتح علي) had sent for that purpose, to a room in a good house adjoining, and communicating with his own; here he received me very courteously and hospitably. Two trays containing many dishes of *Kábab*, (کباب) small pieces of roasted lamb and fowl; one large and

well-flavoured fish; *pillaw* (پلو) and *chillaw*, (چلو) rice dressed with meat or plain; fruit and sweetmeats, and bowls of excellent sherbet, were laid before me within half an hour after my arrival. When this repast was finished, the governor, accompanied by five or six men of very decent appearance, favoured me with a visit, during which I learned that the only monuments of antiquity visible near *Dáráb* were, first, the castle of *Dehâyeh* above mentioned, and vaguely attributed to some Prince of the Caianian dynasty; secondly, a *Naksh i Rustam*, (for this name is given in several places to sculptured figures on rocks supposed to represent the celebrated hero RUSTAM): and, lastly, the *Caravanserá-ï-Dúb* described as an excavation formed with astonishing art, in the side of a mountain. There was, said MI'RZA FATH ALI, not many hundred yards distant, a place absurdly called *Kadmgah* (قدمگا), the foot step or vestige of some preternatural being; but he acknowledged that the city itself offered nothing worthy of inspection, and that it was reduced from its original magnitude and splendour to the condition of a village; he then invited me to enjoy the shade and fragrance of a delightful garden adjacent, thickly planted with orange-trees.

At this time SHI'R KHA'N BEG took an opportunity of mentioning the accident which had befallen my bottle of wine; and requested that I might be furnished with

a supply by order of the governor, who, as an extremely pious *Muselmán*, seemed shocked and confounded at such a request; affected many religious scruples, and swore that he had not heard of any person within the whole territory under his jurisdiction, who had ever made, or tasted, or even seen in a dream, one drop of any fermented or intoxicating liquor; "God preserve "us from the thought of such impurity! (استغفار الله) *estagh-*"*far Allah!*" added he to this declaration, which was uttered with a loud voice and earnest manner, and confirmed solemnly by all the oldest hypocrites present; his countenance then relaxed into a smile. SHI'R KHA'N continued importunate, the governor reproved him in a gentle whisper, struck him slightly on the shoulder with his beads, and muttering a few words to his servant ALI, sent him away and followed soon after himself. In about ten minutes, ALI returned, bringing a capacious, long-necked bottle of white glass, stopped in the usual manner, with cotton, and containing red wine, so very bad, that SHI'R KHA'N, in the excess of his indignation and disappointment, wished that the bottle and its contents were sticking in the throat of the governor's favourite wife. ALI went off a second time and brought some arrack, a most ardent spirit extracted from dates; this delighted and satisfied my thirsty companion.

Passing through the town, every quarter of which we perambulated, I found that the account of its decayed state, was not by any means exaggerated; for half the houses appeared deserted or in ruins. But it was evident that the place had once been of greater extent; it is at present chiefly occupied by gardens; one of these, as the governor had said, was extremely beautiful and fragrant, abounding in orange-trees, and producing a multiplicity of flowers.

I now discovered that some of our mules and horses had suffered much from the journey between *Záhedán* and *Khesúieh*, and that a little rest would be absolutely necessary for them. My *firmán*, or *rakm* (رقم) granted by the Prince who governed *Fárs*, did not authorize me to enter the province of *Kermán* which we had now approached; and being myself limited in time, and uncertain how long the Embassy might continue at *Shiráz*, I resolved to let the tired mules and horses rest one day, and to return by way of the great salt lake of *Níríz*, or *Bakhtegán* by *Savonát* (or *Estahbonát)*, and Persepolis; determined to remain, if it were possible, a week or fortnight among the vestiges of that ancient and celebrated capital. The objects described by Mí'rza Fath Ali, as most worthy of examination, being all situate within a few miles of *Dáráb*, I proposed to visit them next morning, and to take with me only two or three men of our party and such horses as had not yet exhibited any symptoms of fatigue.

Meanwhile, a collection of extracts which I had made in England from printed books and oriental manuscripts, relative to Persia, proved, that when the Italian traveller, Pietro della Valle, near two hundred years ago, passed through this city, it yielded but little, in his opinion, deserving notice; he mentions its numerous population, its palms or date-trees, and the running stream that filled a small circular fish-pond in the *bázar* or principal market-place; "there is nothing else," he says, "in "*Darabghièrd*, to be seen or observed"(41). Of its name he offers an explanation sufficiently conformable to obvious etymology, as passages which I have below given from Manuscripts demonstrate. But some Persian Lexicographers have indicated a meaning for the word *gird* or *gerd*, more satisfactory (at least to me) than that which he suggests, as it expresses directly, the sense otherwise conveyed by implication(42). It would appear, from

(41) "Del resto, in Darabghièrd, non vi essendo niente, nè da vedere, nè da osser- "vare," &c. Viaggi, (Lett. 17. Nov. 26 1622).

(42) "E per lo nome che infin' hora conserva, del Rè Dario," &c. (ib.) *Darabghierd*, would signify, he says, that king DA RA'B (Darius). *surrounded* or *enclosed* the place; and *Darab Kerd*, as perhaps *(forse)* the ancients pronounced it, would imply that DA'RA'B built or *made* it. Hence he takes occasion to notice *Tigranocerda*, founded by Tigranes, king of Armenia, &c. I have already observed in page 102, note 26), that the best *Farhangs* or Manuscript Dictionaries, explain گرد *gerd* or *gird* (with *g* hard), as equivalent to *medinah*, *shahr*, &c "a town or city;" and in illustration they quote among other names similarly compounded, *Dárábgird*, the city of king DA'RA'B. It may be here added from the MS Dict. *Berhán Kattea*, that *gard* or *gerd* signifies to encircle, turn round, &c. *gerd* or *gird*, circular (مدور); also

one passage (*"poiche il suo nome Darábghièrd conforme "oggi si pronuntia,"*) that in the time of this ingenious writer (1622), *gerd* or *gird* was not separated from *Dárâb* by persons speaking of the city. But I find that a learned native of *Isfahán*, who visited this southern region exactly one hundred years after Pietro della Valle, omits, in his entertaining memoirs, the local adjunct. "I then," says he, "proceeded to *Dárâb*, which is one of the "pleasant spots of that warm country; and in truth, it "is a very flourishing and delightful place"(43). At present the compound name is never heard in conversation; it occurs, however, in some of the most ancient Manuscripts.

By TABRI the foundation of this city is ascribed to DA'RA'B or DA'RA' the great, son of Queen HUMÁI, the daughter and wife of BAHMA'N ARDESHI'R, who appears to be the Ahasuerus of Scripture, and the Artaxerexes surnamed *Long-handed* by Greek and Latin authors. "When DA'RA'B," says the historian, "heard "the rumour of his mother's death, he drew forth his "army out of *Balkh* and went to *Pârs*; there he esta- "blished himself in the supreme dominion, and he erected

the surrounding places, environs, &c. (دور و حوالي واطراف). The resemblance both in sense, and sound, between this Persian word and our *gird*, *girth* &c, will probably have struck the English reader.

(43) پس بداراب که از منزهات ان کرمسیر است رفتم و الحق بغایت خرم و معمور است
MS. Memoirs of MOHAMMED ALI HAZI'N.

"a city in *Párs* the name of which was *Dárábgird*, and "that city is now (in the ninth century) inhabited"(44).

The *Súr al Beldán*, written soon after TABRI's time, informs us that this city was founded by DA'RA'B (or DA'RA'), "and therefore denominated DA'RA'B-KERD, a "name which signifies that DA'RA'B made it; and it has "been surrounded with a new rampart like that at the "city of *Júr* (or *Gúr*); and a ditch that receives all the "water running from springs, or oozing from the earth "in the neighbourhood; the middle of that ditch contains "some dry weeds or grass, and if men or four-footed "animals fall into the water and become entangled with "those weeds, they cannot extricate or save themselves "without considerable labour, difficulty and danger. "*Dárábkerd* has four gates, and in the midst of it rises a "mountain, resembling a dome, and unconnected with "any other; most of the buildings are constructed of "clay; and at this time (the tenth century) people from "various towns and cities of Persia come to reside here"(45).

(44) چون دارا خبر مرگ مادرش بشنید سپاه از بلخ بکشید و بپارس امد و انجا نشست بملک و شهري بنا کرد نام ان دارابگرد و ان شهر امروز ابادان است در پارس MS. *Tarikh i Tabri.*

(45) و ازین جهت اورا دارابجرد میخوانند یعني که دارا کرد و در حوالي ان سوري نو ساخته هست مانند سور شهر جور و نیز خندقي کرده اند که ب چشمه و ابهج از حواي و نواحي و اطراف ان شهر از زمین مي تراود در ان خندق مي

Yet we read in another part of the same manuscript, that the plague (وبا) was very frequent at *Dárábgird*, and that the water of this city was the worst in all the province.

FIRDAUSI, the Persian Homer, considered the foundation of this city as a circumstance worthy of commemoration in his *Sháhnámah*. He informs us that "King DA'RA'B "having gone forth one day to visit his horses pasturing "in the low grounds, ascended a hill, and thence beheld "a vast and deep river or body of water; he desired," says the poet, "that expert mechanicks should be "brought from India and from Greece; and they were "instructed so to direct the course of this water that "a stream might flow through every district. Those "ingenious men having opened the mounds or dikes, "DA'RA'B commanded that a city should be built, and "when it was *girded* round with walls, they named the place "*Dárab-gird.*] The monarch then kindled a fire on the "summit of a mountain, to which crowds of persons

افتد و درمیانه ان خندق کیاهها خشک هست اکر ادمي یا چهارپاي در میانه ان اب رود چون ان کیاه اورا معارض شود و مشاهده افتد البته رفتن میسر نشود و ممکن نباشد و از انجا بسلامت بکناره بیرون نتواند امدن مکر بسختي و مشقت و رنج و صعوبت و ان شهررا چهار دروازه هست و نیز در میانه شهر کوهي هست مانند قبه و بهیچ کوهي متصل نیست و غالب بنا خانها ایشان از کل مي باشد و درین عهد از بلدان و شهرها عجم انوام بسیار درانجا فرودامده و مقیم شده

MS. *Súr al Beldán.*

"resorted, worshipping the sacred flame *Azer*, and they "procured the most skilful artists of every description "by whom the whole city was embellished"(46).

Observing, as generally throughout this work (where dates can be ascertained) a chronological order in my quotations, I shall next translate a passage from the *Mudjmel al Tuárikh*, a precious manuscript of the twelfth century, most probably unique in Europe. "And among his other "works, king DA'RA'B, founded in *Párs*, the city of

(46) جنان بود که روزي ز بهر گله
بیامد که اسپان به بیند یله
ز پستي بیامد به کوهي رسید
یکي بیکران ژرف دریا بدید
بفرمود کز روم و ز هندوان
بیارند کارازموده کوان
بجویند ازین اب دریاوري
رسانند رودي بهر کشوري
چوبکشاد داننده زان اب بند
یکی شهر فرمود زان سودمند
چو دیوار شهر اندر اورد کرد
اورا نام کردند داراب کرد
یکي اتش افروخت از تیغ کوه
پرستنده اذر امد کروه
ز هر پیشه کارکر خواستند
همه شهر از ایشان بیاراستند

MS. *Sháh Námah*. History of King DA'RA'B.

"*Dárábgerd;* and the place still bears this name; but "it had previously been called *Aspán Fargán*(47).

According to HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI, the Persian Geographer, *Dárábgerd* is a place of the third climate; "DA'RA'B, the son of BAHMAN, the son of ISFENDYAR "erected the city, which was perfectly circular, as if "its plan had been delineated by a compass. In the "midst of the city there was once a well-fortified castle "with a very deep ditch; but this is in ruins at present, "(the fourteenth century); the climate is very warm, and "*Dárábgerd* produces good corn, fruit, and dates; and "in this territory is a mountain which yields salt of "seven colours; and among the dependent districts, are "*Khesúieh*, *Rádgán* (or more properly, as I suspect, "*Derágán* (دراگان), *Feiz*, and *Restán*," &c(48).

(47) و از عمارت بپارس اندر داراب کرد بنا نهاد و ناحیت اکنون بدان باز خوانند و پیش از ان اسپان فرکان خواندندي

MS. *Mudjmel al Túárikh*, (مجمل التواریخ) No. 62 of the Bibliotheque du Roi, at Paris, where I perused it in 1816. The more ancient name, *Aspán Fargán*, here mentioned, may, possibly, allude to the pasture-lands for horses (*aspán*) above indicated by FIRDAUSI.

(48) داراب بن بهمن بن اسفندیار ساخت شهري مدور بوده است چنانکه بپرکار کشند و حصاري محکم در میان بوده و خندقي عمیق داشته و اکنون خرابست هوایش گرمسیرست و غله و میوه و خرما درو نیک اید و در ان حدود کوهیست که بهفت رنک نمک دارد و نواحي خسویه و رادکان و فیض و رستان از توابع انجاست

MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*, (Geogr Sect. ch. 13). Here *Hamdallah* speaks of the city as belonging to *Shebángáreh*, a territory which, in his twelfth chapter, he includes within the great province of *Fárs*.

The historian HA'FIZ ABRU' beginning his description, borrows the very words of HAMDALLAH above quoted, respecting the founder, the circular form, and the citadel or castle of *Dárábgird*; "it had a ditch, also," says he, "to which water was conducted; and there were four "gates in this castle, but the city is now (in the fif- "teenth century), ruined, and the only remains are "vestiges of wells and the ditch"(49).

Such are the accounts left us by Eastern writers of the best authority; many others, more modern, have noticed *Dárábgerd*, but I think it unnecessary to quote their works, as they add nothing to the stock of information comprised in the extracts above given. From a reference to these, the reader will probably be persuaded, as I am, that the castle or citadel to which they allude must be the *Calaa-i-Dehayeh*, with its surrounding wall or rampart of earth, and its broad and deep ditch, at present without water but once easily filled, by means of the aqueduct still visible, in a state of ruin; and that the rock, appearing as I have described it, like a mountain in the centre of the enclosure (See Plate XXXIII); is what the *Súr al Beldán* mentions as being insulated and resembling a dome, or building with an arched or vaulted

(49) خندقي كه باب رسانيده اند و چهار دروازه برين حصارست اكنون شهر خراب شده است و هيچ نماند جز نشان ديوار و خندق MS. *Tarikh Hafiz Abrú.*

roof. It was, perhaps, on this rock, from which he could easily have beheld every part of the recently founded city, that our illustrious DA'RA'B terminated his labours by the solemn performance of a religious ceremony, and probably the establishment of a new fire-temple; though the circle of rude stones, situate likewise on a rising ground, may indicate the vestiges of a consecrated structure.

26. At break of day on the twenty-sixth, I hastened to view the objects in this neighbourhood, respecting which my curiosity had been much excited. SHI'R KHA'N BEG, two of his armed men, my own groom and an intelligent peasant hired as a guide for the occasion, formed our party on this expedition. Having left the houses and gardens of the town, we proceeded about one mile in a South-Eastern direction to the decayed brick-edifice, with arched windows and *tákches* (طاقچه) recesses or niches, called *Kabr-i-Pashang* (قبر پشنگ), "the burial-"place of PASHANG," whom our guide was willing to believe the ancient hero of that name, celebrated in the *Shah-námah*; but it was evidently the monument of a *Muselmán* saint; and close to it, on the very road, were numerous graves covered with well-cut stones, bearing Arabick and Persian epitaphs which proved the cemetery to be at least from four to five hundred years old; near this spot were tombs of several other holy men, or *Imám-zádehs*, now fallen to ruin; a little beyond those, was a heap of stones, on which lay one, about two feet in

length, and seventeen or eighteen inches in breadth, not having any inscribed letters, but simply ornamented with a plain, carved line; it probably marked a modern grave, and is only worthy of notice, as being supposed the work of remote ages, and ascribed to some female personage, whose history I was desirous of tracing; for throughout this part of the country, remains of conduits, bridges, and causeways; towers, caverns in mountains, sculptures, and almost every thing that wears the semblance of antiquity, or utility, are denominated *mál-i-dukhter*, (مال دختر) and regarded as memorials of some unknown *damsel* or *virgin*.

We saw, on our left, a few miles distant, vestiges of the castle, called *Calaa-i-Rúma;* and at three miles, we passed a deep well or pit. The person who constructed it was probably commemorated in an inscription rudely chiseled on a stone impending over its mouth; as the first word seemed to be ابو چاه این &c. "this well, ABU'," &c. Still more barbarously executed (perhaps by *Iliáts)* were some characters on the natural rock, not far from this well. We advanced about a mile further by a most rugged path, and having passed on the left an aqueduct, a mill, and some other buildings, we turned off towards the right: our road had hitherto been that which leads to *Deh-i-Kheir* (ده خیر). We alighted soon after at the *Caravansera-i-Doob* or *Dúb* (کاروانسرا دوب) of which I deli-

neated the entrance and general outward appearance, (See Plate XXXIII). It is a spacious and extraordinary chamber, hollowed, with admirable ingenuity and by means of prodigious labour, into the very heart of a mountain; its roof seems formed of arches, supported on square pillars of large, but, not ungraceful proportions; the roof, however, and the pillars; the arches, the walls and the floor, all are of the solid rock. Were it possible to forget the sculptured wonders of *Kenereh* and *Elephanta*, I should not hesitate to pronounce this a most stupendous excavation; and it only wanted their terrifick and monstrous idols, to render its shade equally awful as the gloom of those Indian Temples.

It receives a little light at the entrance, an ample and handsome door-way in the side of the mountain; and some descends from a square aperture, cut through the rock in the centre of the roof; my servant, who climbed for the purpose outside, having let down through this aperture a measuring-tape, I found that in a perpendicular line from the upper edge where he held it, to the floor, was thirty-two feet; of these about twenty-one or twenty-two might be considered as the extreme height of the chamber, between its arches; so that the rock must be at this opening ten or eleven feet thick. I next ascertained the dimensions of the hall or chamber itself; a square of seventy feet regularly divided into

four parts by pillars of which the two principal rows form aisles or walks, intersecting one another exactly in the centre and immediately under the aperture cut through the roof or ceiling. A plan taken on the spot (See Miscellaneous Plate, No. 15), may assist in explaining this description, although I made it in a very hasty manner, and amidst the importunities of my companions; for having heard many accounts of robbers who infested the neighbourhood, they became impatient at my delay, and extremely anxious to quit this lonesome place.

Near the door, were inscriptions carved in the Arabick character, of a kind not very ancient; and I contrived to copy two lines apparently comprising a date; either the year 752, or 705, of the Mohammedan era, corresponding to our year 1351, or 1305. In the wall terminating the main aisles on the left and right, and opposite the door were niches, not unlike the fire-places in European houses, and sculptured with some degree of elegance; inscriptions in the same character as those above mentioned, served for ornaments and filled the frames or borders; so at least of the only niche that I had time to sketch.

An unlucky musket-shot, discharged at no great distance, induced SHI'R KHA'N BEG and the armed men to

mount their horses, and I, soon after, reluctantly followed their example; having first ascended the rock or mountain over the chamber, viewed the external surface of its roof and examined the opening through which it partially receives both light and air; this is ten feet five inches, on every side, being, as I have observed, a square; near it lay a large, single stone, that seemed, from its size and cubical form to be what once filled the aperture. I was going to measure it when a sudden cry *biá, biá, bedow, bedow,* (بیا بیا بدو بدو) "come, run, gallop," inturrupted my researches, and we all hastened to the assistance of some *Iliáts*, who, as we learned, had seized two robbers, but allowed them to escape before our arrival near their encampment. This circumstance gave Shi'r Kha'n Beg an opportunity of displaying both his courage and his horsemanship; declaring aloud that he would pursue and bring back the fugitives, (but without inquiring which way they had gone), he rode off at the fullest speed down a steep hill, flourishing his sword, or stretching out his right arm to the utmost extent, or throwing himself into the attitude of one who transfixes his adversary with a dart; this exhibition lasted about a quarter of an hour, whilst he performed a circular course of nearly three miles, without having once lost sight of his men or of me, who remained quietly conversing with the *Iliáts.* These, at his return, gratified him by various exclamations, such as *Khúb juván* (خوب جوان), *Aajeb suwari*

(عجب سواري), "what a fine young fellow!" "wonderful horseman!" and this was deemed, by all parties, I believe, a sufficient recompense for his unnecessary exertion(50).

A person coming from *Dârâb* now informed us, that the Governor and several of his friends had been for some time at the *Naksh i Rustam*, where a tent was pitched, and they expected me to partake with them of a collation. Having received this intelligence, SHI'R KHA'N, whose ride had, perhaps, excited a strong appetite, proposed that we should immediately set out; as it would be indecorous, he said, to detain the Governor much longer. We accordingly proceeded in the shortest direction, and not by any beaten path, for three or four miles, over fields and rocks, across streams, and through extensive groves of date-trees.

I, however, would have gladly returned to the *Caravanserai Dúb* as yet imperfectly explored: for it appeared to me not improbable that, in the obscurity of some corners most remote from the entrance, were passages or recesses, which might be found to resemble those chapels attached to the vast cavern-temples of India; there is one small square excavation, with an arched

(50) The expression خوب جوان (generally pronounced *Khoob Javoon*) signifying a handsome or fine youth, I have frequently heard addressed to men both old and ugly.

door-way, in the mountain, outside; the view represents it, on the right of the great entrance; but I had not leisure to ascertain whether it communicated with the principal chambers. The inscriptions and pointed arches evince that the general style of this work is what may be denominated modern Saracenick; and if I have rightly deciphered the Arabick date in the lines above copied, its age would not much exceed five hundred years; it therefore has no pretensions to antiquity; and as executed by *Muselmáns* for the purposes which its present name indicates, only can interest travellers who may occasionally benefit by the shelter that it affords; yet it is not formed on the plan of most Persian *Cáravánserais*, in which the areas are open, and the sides are ranges of distinct rooms; this chamber offers no other accommodation than the vacant spaces between its pillars. In hollowing this into the hard rock, why immense labour has been employed, it is not easy to assign the reason; since a building constructed of brick, or stone and mortar, after the usual manner, would have been more convenient, more handsome outwardly, and less expensive.

The annexed view (Plate XXXIII) comprehends on the left three natural caves, and the mountains here contain many others; I was for a moment inclined to suspect that the hall or chamber had been one, which seeming, from its capaciousness or other interior circumstances,

adapted for the object, was fashioned as it now appears by art. But from the symmetrical disposition of its parts we are justified in considering it rather as the result of an original design; an excavation made, perhaps, long before the introduction into Persia of Arabian characters or the Saracenick style of arches; its pillars once round, or of disproportionate bulk, may have been reduced or squared; a flat and low ceiling may have been raised and vaulted; ancient inscriptions may have been obliterated, and statues or symbolical sculptures effaced by the chisel of Mohammedan artists. Elephanta itself might have been thus degraded had not the trouble and difficulty of destroying multitudinous groups of figures, rendered nearly vain all the attempts of bigotry and barbarism. In addition to these conjectural possibilities, the *Caravanserai Dúb* may have been a place consecrated to *Mithraic* rites, or some other form of religious worship, in ages even preceding the time of ZERA'TUSHT; or this may be a work of that celebrated Queen, Semiramis, (a personage of very uncertain date) who, according to Strabo, left numerous memorials of her dominion in various regions of the world. That vague local tradition, which, as I before observed, attributes all antiquities here to some unknown female (though styled a "*damsel)*," tends in some degree to sanction this opinion. I acknowledge that the Persian records notice two Princesses to whose names the word *dokht* (or *dukht* (دخت), a diminutive

of *dukhter* دختر) is generally added, expressing their unmarried or virgin state; these were the daughters of king Chosroes, (or KHUSRAU entitled PARVI'Z); and they governed independently after their brother SHI'R-U'IEH, denominated by Greek and Latin historians, *Siroes*, who died in the year of Christ 629. But their reigns were short and turbulent; and few monuments could remain of sovereigns distracted by domestick feuds, negotiations with foreign powers, and above all, the alarming progress of Arabian invaders under the generals of the *Khalifah;* the elder sister, PU'RAN-DOKHT, having ruled the empire but sixteen months; the younger, AZERMI-DOKHT, only six[51].

In all the long catalogue of Royal Persians, I find but one other female to whom any great or publick work can be with plausibility ascribed; and Queen HUMAI may well claim the excavation of a mountain, since she is said to have erected the *Forty* or the *Thousand Columns* at Persepolis, which in the course of

[51] This we learn from one of the most ancient and authentick of Eastern writers, TABRI. Other historians lengthen or abridge by a few weeks or months the reigns of both these young Queens. PU'RA'N (پوران) is often written (by a mere change of diacritical points) TU'RA'N (توران); and the MS. Dictionary *Berhán Kattea* offers reasons for each mode of spelling. FIRDAUSI in the *Sháhnámah*, writes AZERM (ازرم), for AZERMI (ازرمي) and assigns to this beautiful but unfortunate princess (for she suffered a most horrible death as some Manuscripts inform us) a reign of only four months; he also reduces the reign of TU RA'N or PU'RA'N-DOKHT to six months.

these pages I shall duly notice. Between Semiramis and HUMA'I, some extraordinary features of resemblance may be discovered in their respective histories; and the learned D'Herbelôt might have added several proofs of their identity, to that strong one which he has suggested, as arising from a name([52]). Chronology, it is true, seems at first to interpose an interval of many centuries; but reserving this subject for future inquiry, I resume the narrative of my travels, from which, probably, some readers may accuse me of having already made too long a deviation.

We crossed the country as before-mentioned, in nearly a straight line for about three miles, and arrived at the sculptured rock, where I was received by MI'RZA FATHH ALI and several companions, who conducted me to an awning of black, coarse hair-cloth or rather felt, borrowed from some *Iliâts* of a little camp or *ordû*, not very distant. While the governor's servants were engaged in preparing trays with various china-bowls and dishes of sweet-meats, fruit, rice and fowls, lamb, onions, sour-milk and sherbet, one glance enabled me to recognise in the supposed figure of RUSTAM, another monument (for some have been already described), of the glory or the vanity of SHAPU'R.

([52]) Bibliothèque Orientale, Art. *Homai*.

From a closer examination, however, I was witheld above an hour by the repast and many previous ceremonies; for not only the governor but his thirteen friends, besides the simple welcome, (السلام or خوش امدید) *As'salám* or *Khúsh-medíd* which I should have considered as perfectly sufficient, inflicted on me, each of them separately, and at intervals of some minutes, the whole series of regular compliments, in set phrases; and to these, by the common rules of politeness, it was necessary that the established replies should be returned; fortunately I had committed them to memory at *Shiráz*([53]).

The sculptures, in bold relief, occupy a tablet thirty six or thirty seven feet long and about twenty high, cut in the rocky face of a steep mountain, and, like others described in the preceding chapters, situate just over a basin or fountain of most excellent water; this is oval, and very deep; but we could see that it abounded with fishes. SHA'PU'R's form, eminently conspicuous, appears in the middle of the tablet; and is of gigantick proportions with respect to the other figures (as elsewhere, See Vol. I. p 290); he alone is mounted on horseback; and close to him we see his usual emblem of victory, a dead man's body extended on the ground. Before the Monarch is a crowd of Romans, and he lays his left

([53]) The most useful are given in Vol. I. (Preface).

W. O. del.t H. Mullow Sculpt.

Shapúr and Valerian.

Sculptured on a rock near Dárábjird.

hand, seemingly in a compassionate manner, on the head of their captive chief, whose melancholy countenance expresses, I think, more of despair than of resignation; a youth extends his arms towards the neck of SHA'PU'R's horse, imploring, perhaps, the conqueror's mercy. The Romans, all bare-headed, fill the right end of the tablet; at the left, are the Persian guards or attendants in four ranks, most of them wearing the pointed cap. I could not discover that the rock exhibited any inscriptions(54).

This sculpture, notwithstanding some injuries which it has suffered, and its manifold defects in proportion and in perspective, appeared, from the vast size of the principal personage, exceedingly magnificent; and I endeavoured to delineate it (as in Plate XXXV), with scrupulous accuracy; for the figure of the Roman chief, may be a

(54) Some of my Persian companions supposed SHA'PU'R'S figure to represent RUSTAM, and the youth's, his daughter. There were, according to a popular tradition, two heroes who bore the name of RUSTAM. One, the son of ZA'L, celebrated both in Persian history and romance: the other entitled "son of KULEDEH," or KALDEH; to this RUSTAM or his daughter, (of whom I believe nothing can be learned in manuscripts) they absurdly attribute the sculpture near *Dárábi*. In the MS. Dict. *Jehang.* and *Berh. Katt.* I find *Kaladah* (كلده) explained merely as the name of a *man*, or of a *certain person* (مردي or شخصي). The successive chiefs of a whole family or dynasty seem to have been distinguished sometimes by the name of their illustrious founder; yet RUSTAM the son of ZA'L, speaking individually of himself, says that he was above six (in one copy seven) hundred years old;

زششصد همانا فزونست سال
که تا من جدا کشتم از پشت زال

MS. *Shahnámah*, (story of *Isfendyár*).

real portrait of the unfortunate Valerian. (See Vol I. p. 282. 285. 287). I was, besides, desirous of representing faithfully, what seems to have escaped the actual inspection of any other European, though Kæmpfer had heard of *Rustamick* monuments existing among the mountains near *Dárab*(55).

Having now visited what was reputed worthy of observation in the neighbourhood, I proceeded towards the city, accompanied by MI'RZA FATHH A'LI, and his party, amounting to above thirty persons; a little beyond the sculptured rock, we came out on the *Fassa* road, near the opening between two hills, where I had stopped the day before to sketch the view given in Plate XXXIV. It was intimated that the governor's civility required at least, the return of a visit. I paid it, therefore, in the evening, and found with him some of those friends who had attended him on the morning excursion. Here I underwent a repetition of most tiresome compliments, and was much annoyed by the impertinence of a silly coxcomb, who asked whether Persia was not the finest country in the world; whether America produced trees, or Europe horses; whether Christians lived in houses, and similar questions. But SHI'R KHA'N BEG soon silenced and astonished him by relating with ample exaggerations, the marvellous accounts which he had

(55) "Urbium quoque *Firusabaad* et *Daraab* vicini montes sculpturis Rustamicis, quas vocant, superbire dicuntur." Amœnit. Exot. p. 365.

heard from the attendants of MI'RZA ABU'L HASSAN; he described in very glowing colours the beauties and luxuries of England; and swore that at every hour, or farsang's distance, on all the roads, government had established a *Manzil Kháneh* (منزل خانه) or inn, lofty as the highest *Mináreh* (مناره) or steeple, and sumptuous as any palace; where, night and day, the traveller might find tables spread with innumerable dishes of the most savoury meat, and flasks of delicious wine; that the guests were served by beautiful nymphs, whose charms were not concealed by veils; that beds, horses and carriages were constantly ready, and furnished at free cost; he then celebrated the pleasures of London; and our naval wonders; the smallest *Kashti-jang* (کشتي جنک) or ship of war, had been selected, he said, from a thousand vessels, to bring the Ambassador; as one of a larger size could not possibly navigate the gulf; several persons of strict veracity, who had gone on board the Lion whilst at anchor near *Bushehr*, assured him, he declared, that it was manned by two thousand sailors and soldiers, and armed with two hundred guns, each carrying a ball four times larger than his own head, with the *Kuláh* (کلاه), or black lambskin cap.

Fearing that he would appeal to me for the confirmation of this report, I directed the discourse to another subject, and endeavoured to ascertain whether any local tra-

ditions justified the opinion, which many have entertained, that *Dárábgird* was the ancient Cyropolis. But it did not appear that the name of CAI KHUSRAU (or Cyrus) was in any respect associated, either with the history of this city, or of *Passa*, the supposed Pasagarda. Some one having now mentioned a *sang az mál-i-kadím* (سنگ از مال قدیم) or stone of very ancient date, exhibiting an inscription, *bekhat e Kúfi belkeh Frangki* (بخط کوفي بلکه فرنکي) "in the *Cufick*, nay, perhaps in the *European* character," I proceeded, after pipes and coffee, to examine it, and, at the same time, to view the *Kadmgáh;* this, as the governor had before told me, was attributed by a vulgar tradition (which he despised), to a preternatural being; and I now learned that it was a spot where the *Dukhter-i-Sháh-Perián* (دختر شاه پریان) or "Daughter of the Sovereign of the Fairies," had once appeared, sitting under some trees, not yet decayed, and held in almost religious veneration; and that the people had, when she vanished from their sight, enclosed within walls, the consecrated bower. As I had always regarded with much esteem the gentle race of *Peries*, and lamented that degeneracy of modern times which rendered their intercourse with mortals so extremely rare(56); I hastened to pay my due respects at

(56) Marmontel says (in Alcidonis, one of his Contes Moraux), "J'ai grand regret "a la féerie; c'etoit pour les imaginations vives une source des plaisirs innocens; et "la manière la plus honnête de faire d'agréables songes."

a place so highly favoured; entertaining, however, a slight suspicion that the Fairy-Princess might, by some confusion of legends, be the *dukhter* or "damsel" to whom, in this country, so many works have been ascribed. The *Kadmgáh* is a piece of ground not above twenty feet square, walled on all sides, but not roofed; and almost filled by five or six old trees, one of which was a *dirakht-i-fázel* (See Vol. I. Appendix, No. 9), bearing on its branches many rags as votive offerings; without, close to the door, was a tombstone, well carved, in Arabick letters, a little injured; it exhibited the name of some *Muselmán*, and the characters expressing a date were nearly effaced, but it probably had been executed within three hundred years; yet this was the monument recommended to my inspection as equally ancient and extraordinary. Having visited an adjoining garden and cemetery, I returned to my apartment, and traced on paper from observations made with a pocket-compass and watch, the course of this day's expedition; which terminated my progress towards the South-Eastern regions of Persia.

CHAPTER IX.

Return to Shíráz by an unusual route.

RETURNING towards *Shíráz*, we passed through some places, of which I cannot ascertain that any former European writer has given an account; much, therefore, of our track, perhaps even to *Bandamír*, may be regarded as new. The greater portion, however, is such as none, probably, would wish to travel a second time; but the novelty of this road reconciled me to the dreariness and difficulties of which many discouraging reports were made; and, still more, the consideration that it would lead me to Persepolis.

We set out from *Dârâb* on the twenty-seventh day of April, soon after five o'clock in the morning; having met, near the outer gate of his mansion, the hospitable

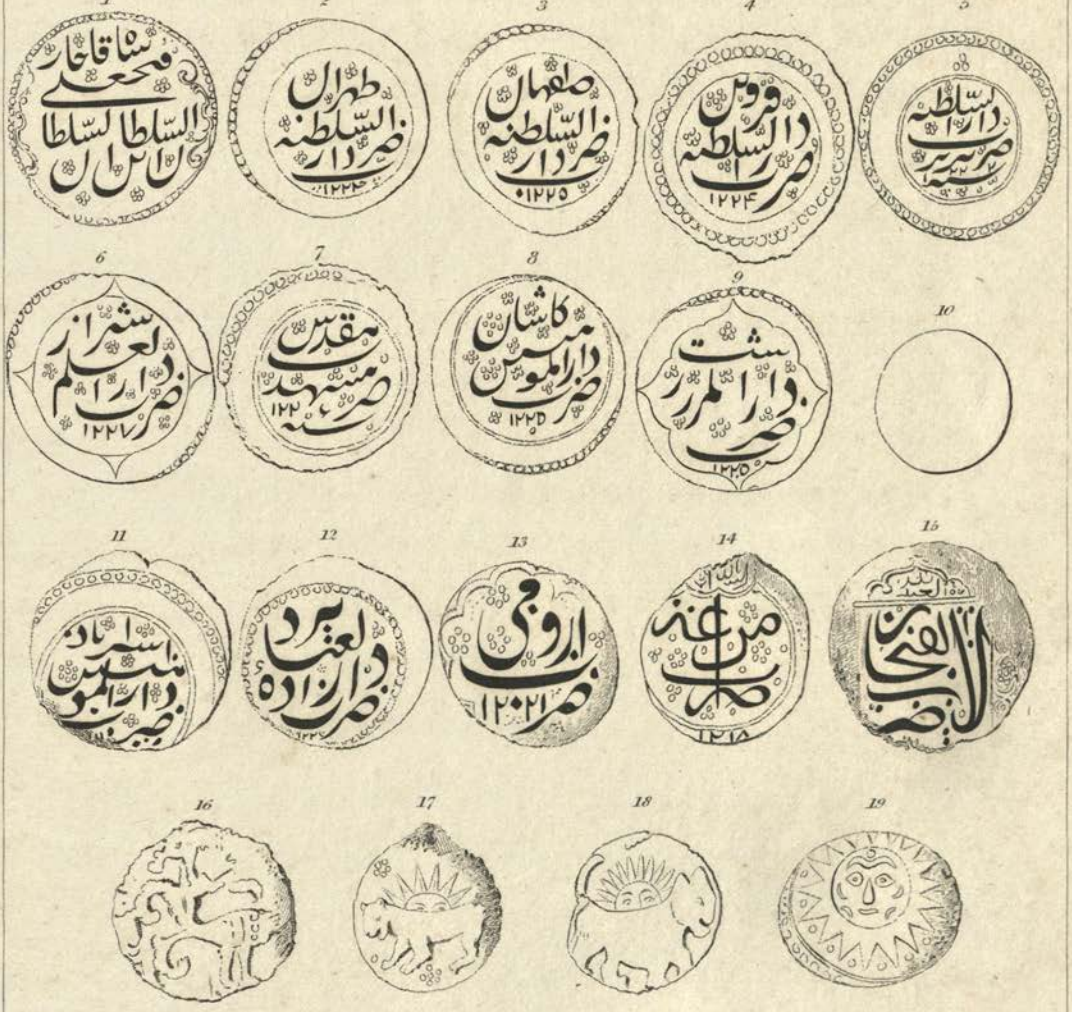
Governor just emerged from the bath; and wrapped in very loose drapery which allowed me to perceive that he was defended from the malignant influence of a *bad-chashm* (بد چشم) or "evil eye;" from sickness, wounds or other accidents, by at least eight or nine amulets and phylacteries, suspended about his neck and fastened on his arms. Having been dissmissed by him with the usual farewell, *Khuda Háfiz* (خدا حافظ) "God be your guardian," we proceeded almost to that pass mentioned in the account of our first entrance; then turned off to the right near a round tower of brick and glazed or painted tiles; this is called the *Mináreh Derímy* (مناره دريمي), and belonged to a ruined tomb of some Saint or *Imámzádeh*. We advanced in the direction of West North West, through a plain, among fine corn-fields, plantations of date-trees and some remains of deserted houses. We crossed many artificial conduits and small natural water-courses, besides one river or *Rúd Kháneh* (رود خانه) denominated, I suppose from its receiving, or being more considerable than the other streams, (رودبار) *Rúdibár*.

After two *farsakhs*, (or *farsangs*), going for about a mile towards the North West, we rode by a decayed village where my servant shot a very large Vulture; it was nearly white, with a brilliant yellow bill; and had talons of uncommon size and strength: at ten miles we were

close to the hills on our right, and resumed the direction of West North West, in which we continued without much variation during the remainder of this day's journey. I halted at a *Gumbez* (گنبز) or circular vaulted edifice of brick, resembling a bee-hive, erected on a platform of stonework; the inside was hollow and had lately served as a shelter for cattle; but my companions pronounced it *mál-i-gabrán* (مال گبران), something appertaining to the *Gabrs;* a Fire-temple of the ancient Persians. It is situate on an eminence near a delightful spring, that starts from some rocks, among a variety of reeds, rushes and small trees, at the very foot of steep and lofty mountains, rising almost perpendicularly above it; this is called the *chashmeh-i-gulábi* (چشمهٔ گلابي), or "rosewater "fountain," and whatever the antiquity of the building may be, its scenery appeared to me worthy of delineation, (See Plate XXXVI). I was disappointed in not finding any sculptures here, as the Sassanian Monarchs could not have chosen a better spot for commemorating their victories or exhibiting their likenesses in the usual manner; the rock presents an excellent and even surface for the chisel, and the fountain below it is as clear and pure as the water of *Kadmgáh* near *Shíráz*, of *Shápúr*, *Dáráb*, or other places where their figures have been carved.

A little beyond this, we crossed a fine stream that issues from the *Chashmeh-i-Gulábi* and some very deep

Gumbed Gulâbi, p. 154.



W. O. del.

J. Walker Sc.

Current Coins, p. 489.

drains or ditches. We passed also, an *Iliát* cemetery with a small *Imámzádeh* on the high road; and, not far from us, on the right, a large mountain of singular appearance; the *Kúh-e-nemek* (کوه نمک) or "*Hill of Salt*," described by various Eastern authors; to one of whom already quoted I refer the reader, (See p. 134). Hills of various-coloured salt visible near *Dárábgird* are briefly indicated in EBN HAUKAL's printed work, (p. 134). The manuscript *Súr al beldán* more particularly describes them, after an account of the mummy, which has been above given; and relates that those mountains of salt are white, black, green, yellow, red and of other colours; "this salt the people fashion into trays, "and whatever else they wish, and send them into distant "regions; and in all other countries salt is produced from "the bosom of the earth, or from the concretion of "water; but here it appears in the form of entire moun-"tains"(1). That the salt of this place was shaped into different articles, we learn also from ISTAKHRI, (اصطخري), an author of considerable antiquity and repute among the *Muselmáns*. Having mentioned "the hills of white, yellow, green,

(1) و از ان نمک خوان و هرچه مي خواهند مي سازند و در افاق از ان حمل مي کنند و در تمامت مواضع ديکر نمک در بطن زمين مي باشد ، از اب منجمد مي شود الا اينجا که کوه نمک ظاهر مشاهده مي افتد See MS. *Súr al Beldán*, which also mentions a kind of oil (*rúghen* روغن) called *Rázekí* (رازقي) peculiar to *Dárábd* and highly esteemed.

"red and black salt," he informs us, (according to a quotation in the MS. *Seir al belád)*, that "it is cut into trays, "or tables, basins, dishes, and similar things, which are "sent as valuable commodities into various countries"(2).

All the plain near that cemetery above noticed appeared glittering with particles of salt, which was more abundant in each handful that I gathered from our path, than sand or earth; this place is eleven or twelve miles from *Dárábi*. We saw the ruins of a castle about three miles distant, and some caverns; none probably artificial.

After another *farsang* we approached the wall of a ruined mill near which were a few date-trees; several men on foot, armed with long muskets, swords and shields, and others holding horses, seemed resting in the shade of this old building. From two long spears which they had stuck in the ground, we concluded that the party belonged to some great person; and on coming to the other side we found a *Mírza*, whose name I have forgotten, sitting on a carpet spread beneath the wall; he was the *Zábet* (ضابط) or chief of *Mádaván* (مادوان), a neighbouring village, and his attendants stood respectfully

(2) در ناحیهٔ دارابجرد کوههاست از نمک سفید و زرد و سبز و سرخ و سیاه که بریده میشود از ان نمک مایدها و کاسها و سفالها و غیر ان از ظروف و برسم هدیه میبرند بسایر بلاد MS. *Seir al Belád.* (Clim. III.) It is immediately added that in the same place are mines of *Símáb* (سیماب) or quick-silver.

in two ranks, on the right and left; he welcomed me with the *Khúshámedíd* (See p. 12), in a very courteous manner, inviting me to repose a while, and enjoy a *caleán* and coffee; of which whilst he and I were partaking, it struck me that to a stranger the whole scene would have appeared extremely theatrical.

Being engaged on business he excused himself from accompanying me to the village, but sent forward a horseman at full gallop, with orders that the best chamber in his own house should be prepared for my reception, and I followed soon after; during the latter part of our journey we saw many huts made of reeds and bushes, and some black tents of *Iliáts*. We passed through corn-fields and observed three or four ploughs, each drawn by two small bulls, and managed by one man or boy.

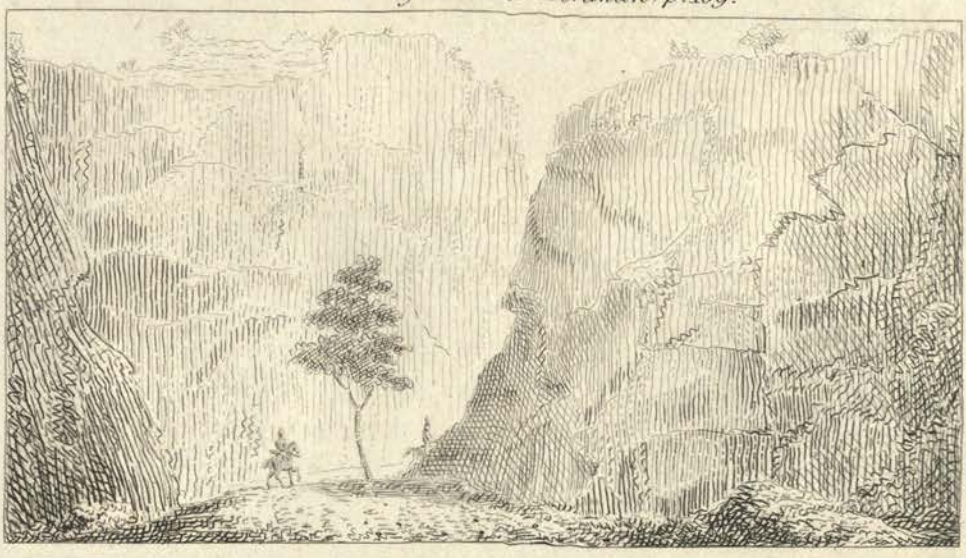
The manuscript *Súr al beldán* enumerates *Mádaván* among those towns which, in the tenth century, had pulpits for *Muselmán* preachers(3); it is at present an inconsiderable place; distant from *Dáráb* five farsangs according to the general computation; I thought it about twenty miles; at three o'clock this day, Fahrenheit's Thermometer stood at 78 degrees, in the shade of my

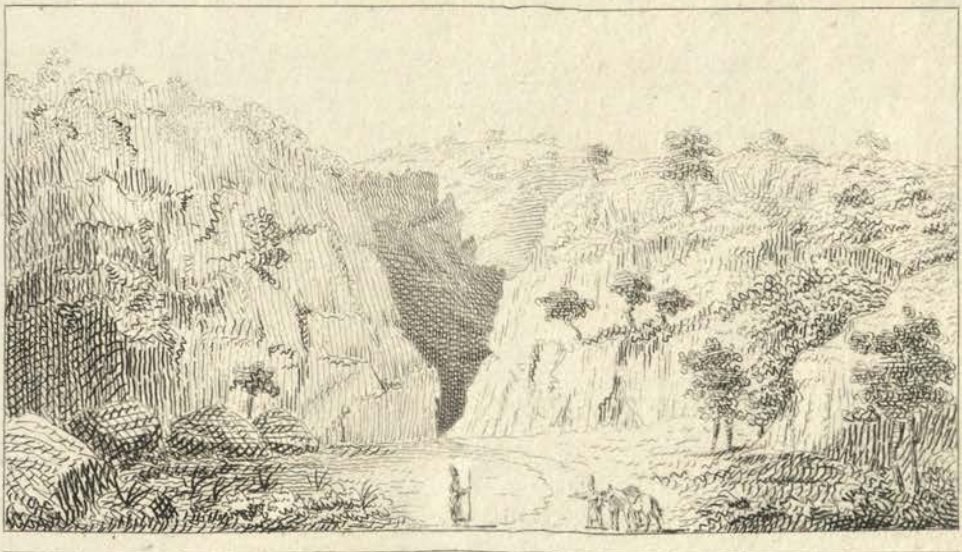
(3) In the inaccurate manuscript from which I translated EBN HAUKAL's "Oriental Geography," (p. 88, 89), the name appears erroneously written نادوان *Nádaván* and ماروان *Máraván*.

room, and rose to 123 when exposed to the sun. We were here tormented by flies; millions of such as are common during summer in English houses; some of the dragon kind exceedingly beautiful; and others of a pale yellowish green, and large as bees; with a multiplicity of very formidable *zembúr*, (زنبور), wasps and horse-flies, of various descriptions, that give notice of their approach by an extraordinary buzzing or rather hissing noise; to flap them away, I found here, as at the last three or four stages, fans neatly made of chip or straw, lying in almost every window. Among the people of the house who attended us here, was a *Hhabshi* (حبشي) or Abyssinian slave; an old man of hideous deformity, entitled *Almás* (الماس) or "the diamond;" and I observed that at *Shiráz*, *Fassa* and other towns, the African slaves were distinguished by flowery names or epithets, expressing beauty and fragrance, in proportion to their natural ugliness or offensive smell. Thus I have known *Yasmín* (یاسمین) the "jessamine," *Sumbul* (سنبل) "the hyacinth," *Jauher* (جوهر) "the jewel," and *makbúl* (مقبول) "the pleasing "or agreeable."

We departed from *Mádaván* at five o'clock on the morning of the twenty-eighth, and arrived at *Iretch* (ایرچ) about twelve; the distance did not probably exceed five and twenty miles, but the road was in some places very bad, and I twice halted to sketch remarkable

Mountain Paſses near Derákán, p. 159.





W.O. del.

J. Walker Sc.

Ancient Cylinder, p. 536.

objects; the direction of our course is sufficiently shown in the map; at one mile we passed a ruined village on the right; at two miles another, much decayed, but still inhabited by a few miserable families; this is called *Kúhesh* (کوهش); here we rode through a date-grove and soon after reached the hills of *Derákán* (دراکان) or *Derágán*. We came at four miles to a *tang* (تنگ) or pass between two mountains, forming banks of yellowish clay, on each side nearly perpendicular, and eighty or ninety feet high; the intermediate space through which lay our path not being more than nine or ten feet wide; (See Pl. XXXVII). A little beyond this, a second chasm in the mountain, still more narrow, presented its dark entrance; this *tang* is not inferior to the other in the loftiness of its sides which are the rock itself; from various crevices in them grow many small trees and bushes; a representation of this pass is given also in Plate XXXVII.

A stony hill or *kutel*-road for three or four miles farther, conducted us to the *Sahhra* or plain; and, at ten miles, we passed the village of *Derákán* which constitutes a kind of castle; its few mud hovels being enclosed within walls of the same materials, about twelve feet high, having at each corner a small tower, and in the face next the road, one entrance by a door so low that a person on horseback cannot enter; the outlines of *Derákán*, (See Miscellaneous Plate, No. 18) will explain

the manner in which most villages of this country are defended by mud walls.

We advanced over the *Sahhra-i-Carábulágh* (صحرا قرابلاغ) or "plain of *Carábulágh*," said to be at some seasons covered with water; and at thirteen or fourteen miles rode through an extensive cemetery; for, as usual, the graves were situate on the very road and at each side. We saw the remains of a well-built aqueduct, and at fourteen miles, our course, which had hitherto inclined to the North-West, took a North-Eastern direction, and we descended into a vale between mountains and rocks of stupendous magnitude. At length we came to the *Tang-i-Iretch* (تنگ ایرچ) a narrow pass, and proceeding about four miles farther, arrived at our *manzel* or halting-place.

This is a long line of mean houses, principally mud-built, and shaded by many trees, just below most steep and lofty mountains. That there was once, and even within twenty years, a much more considerable village here, appears by the ruins of numerous buildings yet remaining. Its name, as the *Zábet*, or chief informed me, was *Eitch* (ایچ or *Idge* ایج); but another person declared it might be correctly pronounced and written *Iretch* (ایرچ) or *Eredje* (ایرج), so denominated after an ancient prince, the son of DA'RA'BSHA'H (داراب شاه), or king DA'RA'B. Of this name were two Persian Sovereigns; the latter, generally called DA'RA', being the Darius of our historians.

The Geographical Treatise of HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI, so often quoted in this volume, describes *Iredge* as "a great village situate at the foot of a mountain, which "affords the inhabitants shelter; for they have hollowed "into it all their habitations; and derive likewise from it "the necessary supply of water"(4). The same writer, in another part of his work, tells us that the *Dizh-i-Iredje* is on a mountain above *Iredge*, one half of which "is fortified, the other half not; although towers of "defence might be here erected; and in this mountain "is a stream of water that descends to the village"(5).

This description is perfectly applicable to the place, and its fortified mountain, on which many walls and towers still appear, at such an astonishing height among the ledges of the rock that it is difficult to comprehend the manner of their construction. There is also a succession of reservoirs or *ánbár* (انبار) one below another communicating by sloping conduits of masonry; and an aqueduct on the flat, extending above a mile. So far may

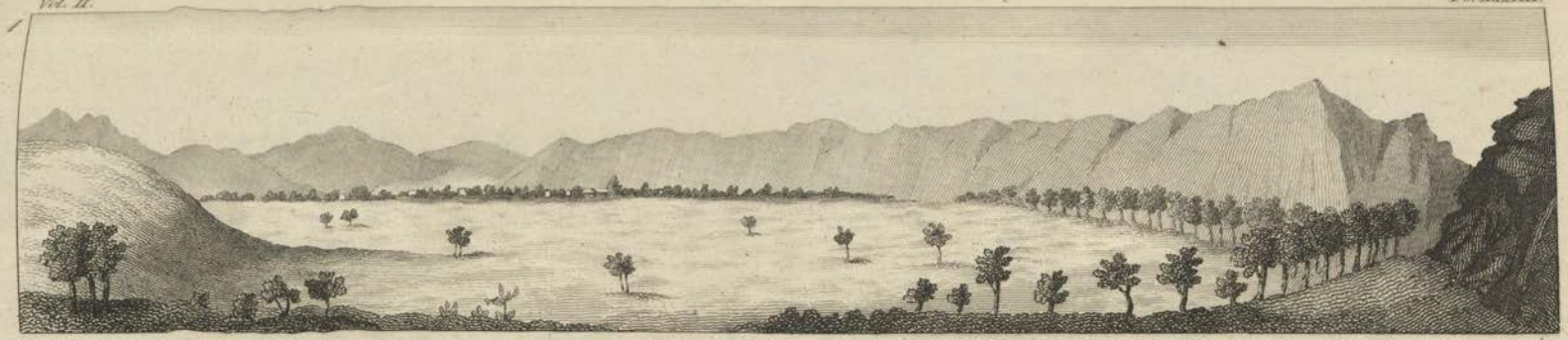
(4) ایرج دهي بزرک در پایان کوهي افتاده و ان کوه پناه ایشان است چه تمامت خانها در ان کوه کنده اند و اب ایشان نیز از ان کوه فرود مي اید
MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*. (Geogr. Sect. chap. 12).

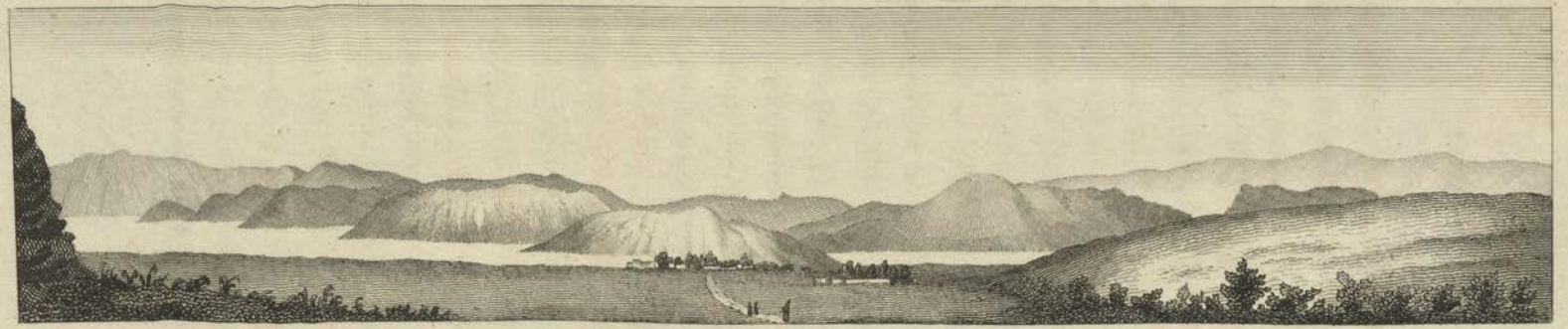
(5) دژ ایرج کوهي است بالاي ایرج که یک نیمهاش استحکام دارد و یک نیمه نه و برین نیمه برج جنک توان کرد و بران کوه اب روان است که بده میرود
MS. *Nozhat al Colúb* (Geogr. Sect. ch. 12).

be traced the vestiges of a town much larger and apparently better built than the quarter at present inhabited.

Some persons of the village had mentioned old inscriptions, and walked with me to view them about half a mile, when we crossed several gardens and entered a *masjed* or mosque, no longer frequented for the purposes of devotion, which must have been a handsome edifice; here were many sentences from the *Korán* well cut in marble, but I could not discover any date. A stone which my guides called the *mehráb* (محراب) or "altar," was very neatly sculptured, and exhibited Arabick texts; it had dropped backwards through an opening of the wall, into a piece of ground, formerly used as a cemetery now planted with flowers and fruit-trees.

This day afforded another lamentable proof of the depopulation and decay which have latterly prevailed in Persia. During the course of at least five and twenty miles we saw not above six or seven people of the country; the two villages that we passed bespoke poverty and misery; and the road was in some places so dangerously steep and clogged with masses of rock, that even SHI'R KHA'N BEG, who seldom spared his horse, or seemed to apprehend the danger of falling, thought it prudent here to alight. Works, however, of considerable extent and utility may be traced in various parts, both of the mountain and the plain. We saw





W. O. delt.

H. Mutlow sculp.

1. Savonät or Astahlonät (p. 163) 2. Salt Lake of Bakhtegan and Village of Kheïrâh (p. 171)

3. Rock near Bandamir (p. 186)

remains of arches and foundations of houses, walls of excellent stone work supporting banks of earth, in such situations as render it difficult to ascertain the purpose for which they were originally constructed, and fragments of aqueducts, all attributed to that immortal female, before celebrated, the beneficent but unknown *damsel.*

On the twenty-ninth of April we set out at break of day, and having gone two miles, observed a *gumbez* or circular tower on the right, and near it, the ruins of some other building. We soon after began to wind among the inequalities of a very rugged *kutel* or hilly path, which continued for eight or nine miles, tending chiefly towards the North North West, and in many places requiring from the traveller no less circumspection than the worst passes between *Búshehr* and *Shiráz.* We then emerged into the plain and proceeding in a West North Western direction about four miles, arrived at *Astahbonát,* (اصطهبنات) or, as the name is almost universally pronounced, *Savonát;* distant from *Irejde,* four farsangs, or nearly fifteen miles.

Its houses are mostly concealed by trees, and it presents to the view, from a spot within three miles, where I made the annexed sketch (Plate XXXVIII), a long series of gardens stretching across the fine plain, and environed by mountains of which the lower parts are wooded, but not thickly; near the town were favourable appearances of cultivation,

and many fields of corn promised an abundant harvest. Three or four trees rose pre-eminently conspicuous above the line of gardens, and I recollected that MI'RZA FATHH ALI at *Dáráb* having described the great *Chinár* (چنار) or plane of *Savonát* as unequalled in size and beauty, a person who had, probably, never seen it, confirmed what the Governor said with a loud oath, "*Wallah!* by *Allah!* it is a tree, "than which no man ever beheld one more wonderful even "in a dream!"

I was welcomed here by an *Istikbál* of eighteen or twenty horsemen, attending MIRZA TAKKI (میرزا تقي) the *Zábet* or chief, who with a crowd of persons on foot, came above a mile to meet me; from his extravagant speeches I began to suspect that the messenger sent on by SHI'R KHA'N BEG the evening before, had given him reason to expect an *Ilchi* (ایلچي) or ambassador, and that the honours conferred on me were intended for my brother; I therefore took an opportunity of correcting any mistake on that subject which might have existed; but the *Mírza* persevered in his attentions; and entering the gate, (for *Savonát* has a wall of mud), he caused a glass bottle containing sugar-candy to be broken on the ground; and when we reached his own house, where a commodious room had been prepared for me, another bottle was broken on a tray; such a ceremony is a compliment rarely paid but to visitors of the highest rank; I was feasted in a manner suitable to this flattering reception, and scarcely

regretted the loss of my wine, so pleasant was the sherbet of various kinds provided by the hospitable *Zábet*.

Linen called *Kerbás* (کرباس) is manufactured here, and my servants purchased some for little more than half the price that it would have cost them at *Shirá*z. This place, likewise, is remarkable for its earthen ware. It seems more populous than either *Fassa* or *Dárá*b, and offers a greater show of bustle and business; yet those claim the rank of *shahr* (شهر) or cities; and *Savonát* is only a *dhey* (دهي) or village. In riding through the streets I observed several groups of well-dressed women; their cloaks, at least, or the sheets in which they were enveloped, seemed, whether white or checked, to be clean and of fine texture; and when tightly drawn about them, displayed, in some instances to advantage, the graceful undulating outlines of the female form, concealing at the same time, those uncouth drawers or trowsers, which are absolutely incompatible with elegance. Three or four also, allowed me to perceive that their faces were handsome; a circumstance which I thought worthy of notice; for, although beauty may once have been more general in this country, (as authors who shall be hereafter quoted, give us reason to believe), a traveller, at present, of whatever women he may chance to see unveiled, will probably not find one tenth of the number even moderately pretty.

Mi'rza Takki himself conducted me to the great *Chinár;* a tree of which I had heard much, yet not more than

it deserved; of ample foliage and majestick appearance, it is perfectly straight to a considerable height; and its trunk, even and round, is, within ten inches of the base, six and twenty feet in circumference; although four hundred years old, according to local tradition, it is sound and in the fullest bloom; a seat or bank has been constructed at its foot, insulated by a little trench or channel, through which a stream of water perpetually flows.

We then went to a place where several persons were employed in making earthen jars, cups, bowls and other vessels; one man whilst we looked on, turned with his wheel in less than a quarter of an hour, seven or eight dishes, resembling our deep soup-plates, which would have been reckoned good in England; they glaze the clay with much neatness and very expeditiously; and the principal artist had succeeded to such a degree in imitating fine porcelain, that, without minute examination, it was difficult to distinguish the ware made by him, from the Chinese originals, both of the blue and white pattern, and painted in flowers and figures. I saw the materials which he used in every stage; they are procured from stones of the neighbouring mountains; and some were reduced after a certain process, to an impalpable powder, white as snow. This man, in the imitation of china ware, had not received the encouragement due to his ingenuity; he was very poor, and deterred, as he confess-

ed to me, from prosecuting this refined branch of his art, by the exorbitant price of some particular colours(6).

We next proceeded to a large *Masjed* or Mosque, ancient and wanting repair, but still frequented by a few religious *Dervíshes*. I imagine however, that as a place of publick worship it has been superseded by some more modern structure, for the Mírza invited me to enter it, leaving my boots outside the door; he was anxious to show me several inscriptions carved on the walls, as report stated, above a thousand years ago. I found them to consist of Arabick sentences from the *Korán* cut in *Cufick* characters, and perhaps the account of their antiquity has not been much exaggerated, for a manuscript of the tenth century informs us that *Savonát* or *Astahbonát* and *Idge*, then possessed an oratory or pulpit(7).

(6) Here, not far from the borders of Carmania, I thought it possible that Pliny might have alluded to the mountains near *Savonát*, in his account of the substance which furnished those *murrhine* vases or cups, so highly esteemed among the ancients; "Oriens *myrrhina* mittit. Inveniuntur enim ibi in pluribus locis, nec insignibus, "maximè Parthici regni; præcipuè tamen in Carmania." (Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 2); for that the murrhine vases were but a kind of porcelain ware is the opinion of Salmasius and other able antiquaries, while some contend that they were not of factitious matter. I recollected at *Savonát* a remark of M. de Pauw, respecting the *murrins* found in Carmania; but it escaped my memory that he had indicated the name as a curious subject of inquiry. "Il se peut même que ce terme de *murrin*, "(qui doit être écrit sans aspiration, et qui n'est ni Grec ni Latin) subsiste encore "dans quelques endroits de la Perse Méridionale." (Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois; Tome I. p. 330. Berl. 1773).

(7) و در ایج و اصطهباناد منبر هست See the MS. *Súr al Beldán*. Here the name appears *Astahbánád*, but in other parts of the MS. it is properly written اصطهبانات. The most accurate copy used in my printed translation of EBN HAUKAL'S Geography, (p. 89), has *Astehfaian* (اصطهفایان), most erroneously.

In the fourteenth century HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI' described it as "a town abounding in trees, enjoying a temperate "climate; yielding fruit of every kind, and copiously watered "by running streams; and in that territory," adds he, "there "is a strong castle which during a contest between the *Seljú-*"*kian* princes and the people of *Shebángáreh*, was destroyed "by the ATABEG JA'VELI, but afterwards rebuilt"(8).

Of this description I was able to ascertain the general accuracy; some remains of the castle are still visible; the gardens of *Savonát* yield grapes, apples and a great variety of fruits; the air was exceedingly pleasant and, comparatively, might be reckoned cool, for at one o'clock, afternoon, Fahrenheit's Thermometer (in the shade) rose only to 70. Indeed the *Súr al Beldán*, enumerates this place, with *Idge*, *Istakhr* and others, among the towns belonging to the *Sardsír* or colder division of *Párs*. It appears accordingly that the Palm does not flourish here; and *Savonát*, is, I believe, several farsangs beyond that imaginary line, which restricts, as many Persians have told me, the actual growth of dates, to the *Garmsír*, or warm regions; some, very excellent, furnished for my dessert by MI'RZA TAKKI, were, he acknowledged, *mál-i-Dáráb*, (مال داراب) the produce of *Dáráb*.

(8) اصطهبنات شهري پر درختست و هواي معتدل دارد و از همه نوع ميوه در ان بود و اب روان بسيار دارد و در ان حدود قلعه محكم است بوقت نزاع سلاجقه با اهل شبانكاره انرا خراب كرد و باز معمور كردند

MS. *Nozhát al Colúb*. Geogr. Sect. ch. 13.

There is a sufficiency of water, although it does not seem to flow in such quantities as when HAMDALLAH wrote the passage above-quoted, nor is it remarkable for salubrity; and of many trees here, the extraordinary bulk and age would have excited my admiration had I not lately seen the beautiful *Chinár*.

Savonát has probably suffered less than any other town or village in *Párs*, from that pernicious system of government which spreads desolation so widely throughout the province; to what fortunate circumstance it owes this partial exemption I have not learned; of its houses five or six only seemed untenanted or in decay; its population was numerous and wore such an air of industry and comfort as would have been gratifying merely from its rarity; to this, without doubt, the manufactures before mentioned, contributed in a high degree, and one, of inferior note, may be added; here are made *káshúks* (قاشوق) or spoons entirely of the *shimshád* شمشاد (box tree) and *gulábi* (گلابي) or (pear tree) wood; some with long and very slender handles, most ingeniously carved and ornamented with open work(9); the hollow part, of con-

(9) The hollow part floats on the surface of the sherbet, like those punch ladles, formerly common in England, the long handle resting on the edge of the China bowl; as glasses or goblets are never introduced at dinner, the Persians drink out of those spoons holding them in such a manner below the middle that the fragility of their long handles may not yield to the weight of the liquid; one frequently serves for two or three guests, each after his draught, placing it in the bowl of sherbet. I purchased some *Káshúks* as a specimen, and one is delineated in the Miscellaneous Plate.

siderable size, and rendered so thin and elastick in substance that the sides may be pressed together as if formed of paper; such are the spoons used by people of the highest rank; a coarser and cheaper sort is fashioned from the same materials or wood of a similar grain.

30. We commenced our journey from *Savonát* on the thirtieth at five o'clock in the morning, and passed an *ambár* or reservoir of water, covered with an arched roof, at one farsang([10]); I soon after looked back from a rising ground and could scarcely believe that we had advanced nearly six miles beyond the trees and buildings of *Savonát*, which from the flatness of the plain seemed still within two. Our course was now in the direction of West North West, and our road close to the mountains on the right, while towards our left the heights of *Kúh Hharman* (کوه حرمن) were within view, though distant probably more than thirty miles; at two farsangs near a *Rahdári* or guardhouse we inclined to the North West; at eleven miles passed another reservoir; at thirteen, (our course being chiefly North) we saw the village and mud castle of *Meimún* (میمون), situate at the foot of a steep mountain, and near it a small vaulted edifice called *Kadmgah-e-Khezr* (قدمگاه خضر) "The footstep or vestige of KHEZR," the

([10]) *Anbár* (انبار) pronounced *ámbár* the *n* before *b* having the sound of *m*. We learn from the ingenious Captain Beaufort's "Karamania" (p. 47 sec. edit. 1818), that the name of Olympus, a large city mentioned by Strabo, has been found in inscriptions written Ολυνπος.

prophet Elias ; it resembled the tombs of Mohammedan saints or *Imámzádehs* so numerous throughout Persia. We proceeded latterly in the direction of North North East, and I sketched the first appearance of the great salt lake in a view which comprehends *Kheir* (خیر) our *manzel* or halting place, and (more nearly) part of a neighbouring village, (See Plate XXXVIII). The journey of this morning was performed in four hours, the distance from *Savonát* to *Kheir* being fifteen or sixteen miles.

The chief, MI'RZA SA'DEK, (میرزا صادق) and several men of the place who came to meet us outside the walls, conducted me to a good room, where I learned from them that the lake is at certain seasons very considerable, extending almost seventeen *farsangs*, or above sixty miles ; and that it does not by any means communicate with the salt lake near *Shiráz*. It is generally called, from the principal town in its vicinity, the *Deria i Níríz* (دریاء نیریز) or "lake of *Níríz*," but the old Eastern Geographers have denominated it the "lake of *Bakhtegán*" (بختکان) after a village of that name, which still exists (although, as I heard, in a state of ruin) to the Eastward of *Kheir*.

EBN HAUKAL (p. 98) notices this extraordinary body of water; and the *Súr al Beldán* describes it more particularly in the following words; "And among all these, one is the lake of *Bákh-*"*tegán*; into this flows the river *Kur* which is near *Hhekún* "or *Khejún*, and it reaches nearly to *Záhek* (or *Sáhek*, as

"some-times written) in *Kirmán;* the extent of this lake is "twenty farsangs in length, and the water of it is bitter, and on "its borders are wild beasts of various kinds, such as lions, "leopards or tigers, and others; and the region of this "lake (which belongs to the *Kúreh* of *Istakhr*), comprises "several villages and districts"(11). Of these some are enumerated by HAMDALLAH MASTOWFI who has borrowed part of his description from the passage above quoted. "*The Lake* "*of Bakhtegán,*" says he, "is in the province of *Fárs;* and "on its borders are situate *Jezíreh, Abád, Kheireh* and *Níríz;* "it extends to the confines of *(Shákel) Sáhek* in *Kirmán.* "The river *Kur* runs into it, and adjacent are tracts of soil "impregnated with salt. In length this lake is twelve "farsangs, in breadth seven; and it is nearly thirty-five "farsangs in circumference"(12).

(11) و ازین جمله یکي دریا بختکان است که رود کور که بنزدیک حقوان است از ان روان مي شود و ان مي رود تا بنزدیک ضاهک کرمان و مسافت طول ان بیست فرسنک می باشد و اب ان شور است و در حوالي و اضعاف و نواحي و اطراف ان دریا انواع دد مثل شیر و پلنک و غیره مي باشد و روستاها و دیهها چند برین دریا محیط مي شود و ان بکورها شهر اصطخر است MS. *Súr al Beldán.* The name which here appears *Kúr* (کور) is generally written without و; the river *Kur* must be more particularly mentioned hereafter.

(12) بحیره بختکان بولایت فارس و ولایت جزیره و اباد و خیره و نیریز بر ساحل اوست تا حد شاکل صاحک کرمان برسد اب کر در و میریزد و در حوالی ان ملاحه است طول این بحیره دوازده فرسنک و درعرض هفت فرسنک است و دورش تقریبا سي و پنج فرسنک MS. *Nuzhat al Culúb.* The word *Shákel* occurs only in one of five manuscripts.

The *Kheireh* mentioned here, is now generally called *Kheir* (خیر) or more vulgarly *Kheil*, by a change of the letters *r* and *l* very frequent in Persia; it is a small village, and near it are two or three clusters of mean houses, with mud walls, and a few trees; the poor inhabitants of all these places were laid under contribution and obliged to furnish our *Siúrsát* or allowance of provisions, not only for this day, but the next; as a space of above forty miles, between *Kheir* and *Gáwakán* was known to be an inhospitable desert, and the state of our mules and horses rendered it necessary that this space should be divided into two stages; SHI'R KHA'N, therefore demanded a supply of bread, milk, rice, grass and barley; six fowls, one lamb, and thirty eggs; with this requisition the *Mírza* reluctantly complied; and from some murmurs which I overheard, it is probable that the people here do not earnestly wish for the visits of Antiquaries, or travellers of any description, attended by *Mehmándárs*. As a stock for the next day's journey it was also thought adviseable that a *meshek* or skin, besides our leathern *matarrehs* should be filled with water at *Kheir;* and SHI'R KHA'N proposed setting out at night, that we might not have occasion to ride in the day time and thereby expose our selves and our horses to the stinging flies, an evil represented here almost as formidable as the want of food or water; but this proposal I rejected, unwilling to pass in darkness through a country however dreary, and disagreeable, of which, amongst Europeans, so little information had been

obtained. The Salt Lake appeared to me an object worthy of inspection; that it existed before the first century, as in the tenth, when EBN HAUKAL wrote, can scarcely be doubted: yet Strabo, Curtius and others who notice the river which it receives, have not spoken of the Lake; neither is it mentioned by any of the Greek or Roman Geographers or Naturalists; we find, accordingly, that in a very excellent and handsome map published by Mons. de la Rochette, it is described as "unknown to the ancients;" an account justified by the great authority of D'Anville(13).

At day-break on the first of May, we set out from *Kheir* and proceeded in a West-North-Western direction to the ruined Caravansera of *Khan-e-Kerd* (خان کرد); a distance generally computed seven farsangs; I did not think it above twenty miles; our road was close to hills on the left well wooded; the trees during part of our journey seemed old and thick; all thriving, but none very lofty; on our right was the Lake bounded by mountains and covering the

(13) De la Rochette's Map I regard as one of the best and prettiest that appeared during the last century. It is entitled "Indiæ Veteris, quantum Macedonibus nota "fuit, finitimarumque regionum Specimen Geographicum; situm ac nomina locorum "recentioris ævi sub oculos subjiciens, nec non Alexandri Itinera intra Euphratem et "Hyphasin, et Navigationem Nearchi ab Indo flumine ostium usque Pasitigris." Published at Faden's, Charing Cross, London, 1797. I mention these particulars, as many ingenious foreigners have experienced considerable difficulty in procuring the map, from ignorance of its title, and of the place where it is sold. See the French translation of Arrian by Chaussard (Atlas p. 195) who sought the map without success, even in London.

plain, in some places eight or ten, in others perhaps fifteen or sixteen miles wide. It had recently deposited on the part over which we rode, a dry surface of sandy whitish salt that crackled beneath the horses feet; but its water was distinctly visible within two or three miles; and appeared as if always extending to three or four farsangs before us, and whenever we looked back, as much behind us.

I tasted, at six miles, a *chashmeh-i-áb-i-garm* (چشمهٔ اب گرم) or spring of water, warm, although the sun was scarcely risen, and in a slight degree brackish, but not unpleasant; this gushed from a rock under the mountains on our left, and formed a small stream that ran into the Lake.

Until we reached the *Caravanserá*, nothing was seen from which a stranger might infer that the country had ever been peopled; if there was a path, we missed it on the plain of salt. A man of respectable appearance alighted at the halting-place soon after our arrival; his conversation was amusing and instructive, and his manners pleasing; his servant carried a long musket, and he was himself well armed; I invited him to partake of our repast, and learned that he was employed by the Prince of *Shíráz* in collecting taxes from the *Zábets* of several villages. According to his description the lake must be considerably more extensive than it appeared to us; for, as he said, not only the mountains which bounded it on the right were washed by its waters on their Northern side, but various mountains even beyond them.

The *Caravanserá* was fallen to ruin; yet it seemed to me a building that had never been completed; and some *Iliáts* who occupied a few huts in the neighbourhood, and had relieved our men from the care of their horses, informed me that this place was nearly abandoned, from dread of wild beasts which haunted the wooded mountains adjoining, and of the flies which every summer destroyed many mules and horses. It was at this time little more than ten o'clock in the morning, and we had been already much incommoded by a multiplicity of *Zambúrs* (زنبور), wasps and horseflies, of various kinds. I therefore caused my small two-poled tent to be immediately pitched, as the half ruined *Caravanserai* afforded no shelter, and the rubbish of its walls abounded with snakes and scorpions. Here whilst lying on the ground, I observed several lizards of beautiful and extraordinary colours; they ventured sometimes to approach very near me, peeping with a most inquisitive look; but they seemed equally timid as active, for on the least motion of the head, even the twinkling of an eye, they vanished among the stones and shrubs(14).

Until two o'clock, the sun being very powerful, both men and beasts suffered extreme annoyance from the flies; a cold and violent wind began, fortunately, then to blow, and

(14) "The quick-eyed lizard," as our noble Poet with his usual felicity of expression describes it; (Childe Harold, Canto IV).

we enjoyed for some minutes a shower of rain, regarded in this country as a rare phænomenon; our tormentors soon disappeared, and I walked out to view an *Iliát* cemetery with a small mud-built *Imámzádeh* situate between the *Caravanserai* and the mountains. Near this was a stream full of the largest and ugliest frogs that I had hitherto seen, and noisy in proportion to their size; the water, which runs into the lake, was fresh, but not very palatable; I prefered it however, to that which we had brought with us twenty miles, agitated and heated in odious skins and *matarrehs* of the tanned *Bulgár* or Russia leather.

I could perceive, with a glass, that among the rocks beyond the lake, trees were not numerous, and snow was still visible on some high mountains not far from our *manzel.* Within a mile of the *Caravansera* was a tower or *Rahdári* where formerly had been stationed five or six guards to protect travellers and collect a toll imposed on merchandise; but now one man was found adequate to this task; a person fond of solitude might here indulge even to satiety.

From *Khán-e-Kerd* we proceeded early on the second, and having travelled in a West-North-Western direction above thirty miles, (perhaps thirty two or thirty three) we arrived at *Gáwakán* (گاوکان, pronounced *Gáwakoon).* The plain which during the first eight or ten miles was partially encrusted with salt, expanded soon after we left the *Cara-*

vansera; and probably the lake is at some seasons five or six farsangs broad; at seven miles we saw the gardens of *Dhey Kharmah* or *Kharrumah* (ده خرمه), a village bearing nearly West-North-West before us, at the foot of a distant mountain; at seventeen or eighteen miles we were in the *Belúkat* of *Kurbál* (کربال), or, as it is vulgarly and improperly called, *Kulvár* and *Kurvár*, a district which once comprehended many flourishing villages; most of these, are at present deserted; and the few inhabited, seem falling to decay. I walked among the ruined houses of two; *Dhey Sejel* (ده سجل) and *Dhey Naw* (ده نو); and found in a burial-place near them, some tombstones neatly carved, with Arabick and Persian epitaphs. These villages first appear where the Salt Lake ends and vegetation begins; here also the river *Bandamír* (بندامیر) falls into the lake; and from this spot during the remainder of our day's journey, we rode along the left bank of that greenish, deep and dirty-looking stream, which resembles in many places a very broad English canal. It is the river *Kúr* (کور) or *Kur* (کر) of those Eastern writers above quoted (p. 172), and derives its modern name from *Bandamír*, a celebrated dike and bridge at a village, which, having been our next stage, I shall soon more particularly notice.

Gáwakán is an inconsiderable place; it furnished, however, good accommodation in a house built over the river, on a mud bank, steep and very high above its level. Like most

streams of this country, the *Bandamír* abounds with tortoises. We saw many in it; the Persians never eat them, but our party shot two, of large dimensions; several bullets, also, were discharged but in vain at water snakes, of various colours; and just below my window soon after we alighted, a fish was taken which within half an hour afforded me an excellent dinner.

On the third of May we left *Gawakán* at five o'clock in the morning. The river was on our right hand until, at three miles and a half, we crossed it over the *Pul-i-Gáwakán* (پل کاوکان), a long bridge, irregularly built with several arches large and small; here the *Bandamír* suddenly falls seventeen or eighteen feet; It was not without some danger and considerable difficulty that we contrived, even on foot, to pass this bridge, which has been for many years in ruins; no work of publick utility, is ever repaired by the governors of this province. We now proceeded, the river running on our left, but could seldom see it unless when within a few yards, as its banks are in general level with the plain; at three farsangs we rode by a mud-walled village called *Mahrián* (مهریان pronounced *Mahrioon*) near which were some cultivated grounds; our road, on this and the preceding day was chiefly in a West-North-Western direction through a country perfectly flat, with mountains on both sides, and intersected by numerous drains, cut for the purposes of irrigation. We saw many large wells; one with a machine of extraor-

dinary construction, more ponderous and clumsy than the common Persian wheel; a sketch of this is among the few things which I lost in the course of my journey. The plain was still considered as *mál-i-belúkát-i-Kurbál* (مال بلوکات کربال) or belonging to the district of *Kurbál*; it assumes the name of *Mardasht* or *Marvdasht* (مرودشت) beyond the village of *Bandamír*, where we arrived at eleven o'clock, having travelled five farsangs, as the Persians reckoned, or probably about twenty miles.

My desire of visiting Persepolis would have induced me to proceed eleven or twelve miles farther, for the *Takht-i-Jemshíd* (تخت جمشید) was within three farsangs, and the mountains adjoining these celebrated ruins appeared much nearer from the flatness of the intermediate space; but the mules and horses were much fatigued; we therefore halted at *Bandamír*, and the *Zábet* being absent, a dispute occurred between my party and the inhabitants. Stones were thrown, some swords half-drawn, and a thousand most opprobrious epithets interchanged among men and women. I thought it prudent to terminate the affair by pitching my little tent outside the walls, close to a garden, within ten yards of the river.

Bandamír seems a populous village; it is divided and undermined in several places by dams and *canáts* or subterraneous channels for supplying mills with water; and its name, which is formed of the word *band* (بند) a dike, and *Amír* or

Emír, (امیر) a prince or chief, alludes to the works constructed here in the tenth century by AZZAD (or ADHAD) AD DOULEH, (عضد الدوله). Of these the principal remains are artificial mounds which impede the stream and force it to descend through numerous sluices and arches, in a waterfall of eighteen or twenty feet. By various acts of munificence and generosity, the illustrious *Amír* merited and has obtained the gratitude of Persian writers(15); but he is principally celebrated for this vast undertaking, whereby an arid and barren tract of considerable extent was fertilized, and the blessings of plenty diffused among several hundred villages; some of these, but mostly deserted and in ruins, yet exist; a monument of his glory and a reproach to his degenerate successors. In countries where from its scarcity the value of water is sufficiently known, that history has lavished praises on those benevolent Monarchs who provided for their subjects a copious supply, by means of aqueducts or canals, wells or cisterns, cannot be a subject of wonder. Thus in the Hebrew scriptures (II. Kings. ch. xx. v. 20.) it is recorded of the pious

(15) Yet according to a tradition noticed by the historian HA'FI'Z ABRU', (in his account of the river *Kur*), this *band* constructed by order of AZZAD, did not derive its present denomination from that Prince, but was called after the chief engineer whom he employed, and whose proper name was AMI'R.

و این بند عضدرا بندامیر خوانند و گویند که مهندس این عمارت امیر نام داشت بدو باز خوانند (MS. *Tárikh i Háfiz Abrú*).

This tradition is repeated in the MS. Dict. *Berhán Kattea*, (See the word بند امیر) which adds that, according to some, the band was constructed by a stranger named AMI'R, who being on his travels voluntarily undertook the work.

Hezekiah, "*how he made a pool, and a conduit and brought* "*water into the city.*" He also, "*stopped the upper water-* "*course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side* "*of the city of David.*" (II. Chron. ch. xxxii. v. 30. To this Isaiah alludes, ch. xxii. 11).

Similar works have immortalized many ancient princes in the annals of different nations; but the Persians, most particularly, seem to rank among their greatest benefactors, those who have contributed to remedy the distresses arising from a natural paucity of springs and rivers; and even their Muselmán writers, do not withold from HU'SHANG, ZAV, CAI KHUSRAU, BAHRA'M, ARDESHI'R, SHA'PU'R, NU'SHIRAVA'N, and other sovereigns whom they regard as heathens, that tribute of celebrity, to which hydraulick labours employed for the publick good, have given them so just a claim. This work of AZZAD AD DOULEH, (a Prince of the *Dilemite* dynasty who governed as *Amír*([16]), is still efficient although much neglected, and has been considered by the best historians as worthy of admiration; "it is "distinguished," says MI'RKHOND, "by the name of BAN-

([16]) He did not assume the title of *Sháh* or king, although fully invested with the powers; nor, until some years after his death (which happened A. H. 372 or 3, A. D. 983) did any monarch denominate himself *Sultán;* the first so distinguished among Muselmán Princes, was MAHMU'D, surnamed GHA'ZI, or "Victorious;" the son of SABAKTEGI'N, according to that valuable Manuscript, the *Tebkát Násri.*

محمود بن سبکتکین سلطان غازي اول کسي را که در اسلام پادشاهان لقب سلطان خطاب کردند او بود

"AMI'R; a structure to which the world does not furnish "vestiges of any thing equal; and it is," adds he, "of such "magnitude that people may pass over it, even armies, and "caravans"(17). KHONDEMI'R, son of the writer whom I have just quoted, enumerating the memorials of AZZAD AD'DOULEH's long and beneficent reign, says "another is the *Band* "which he erected on the river *Kur*; few works resem- "bling this can be found throughout the world"(18). The construction of it is assigned by SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI to the year 359 of the Muhammedan era, (A. D. 969), when AZZAD AD DOULEH, "made a wall or embankment on the *áb-i-kur* or "river *Kur*; also a reservoir or cistern in the castle of *Is-* "*takhr*, on which occasion he exclaimed, "I have created a "mountain in the midst of a lake, and a lake on the summit "of a mountain"(19).

From this boast we might infer that the river had been occasionally dissipated in unprofitable or perhaps destructive

(17) و ببند امیر معروفست و ان عمارتیست که در عالم مثل ان نشان نمیدهد و در وصف ان عمارت همین بس است که ابی بدان عظمت را بند کرده برالای ان رهگزار خلایق ساخت چنانچه لشکرها و کاروانها بدان میگزارند

MS. *Rauzet al Sefa.* Vol. IV.

(18) دیگر بندی است که بر اب کر بسته است که مانند ان بند در عالم عمارتی کم توان یافت

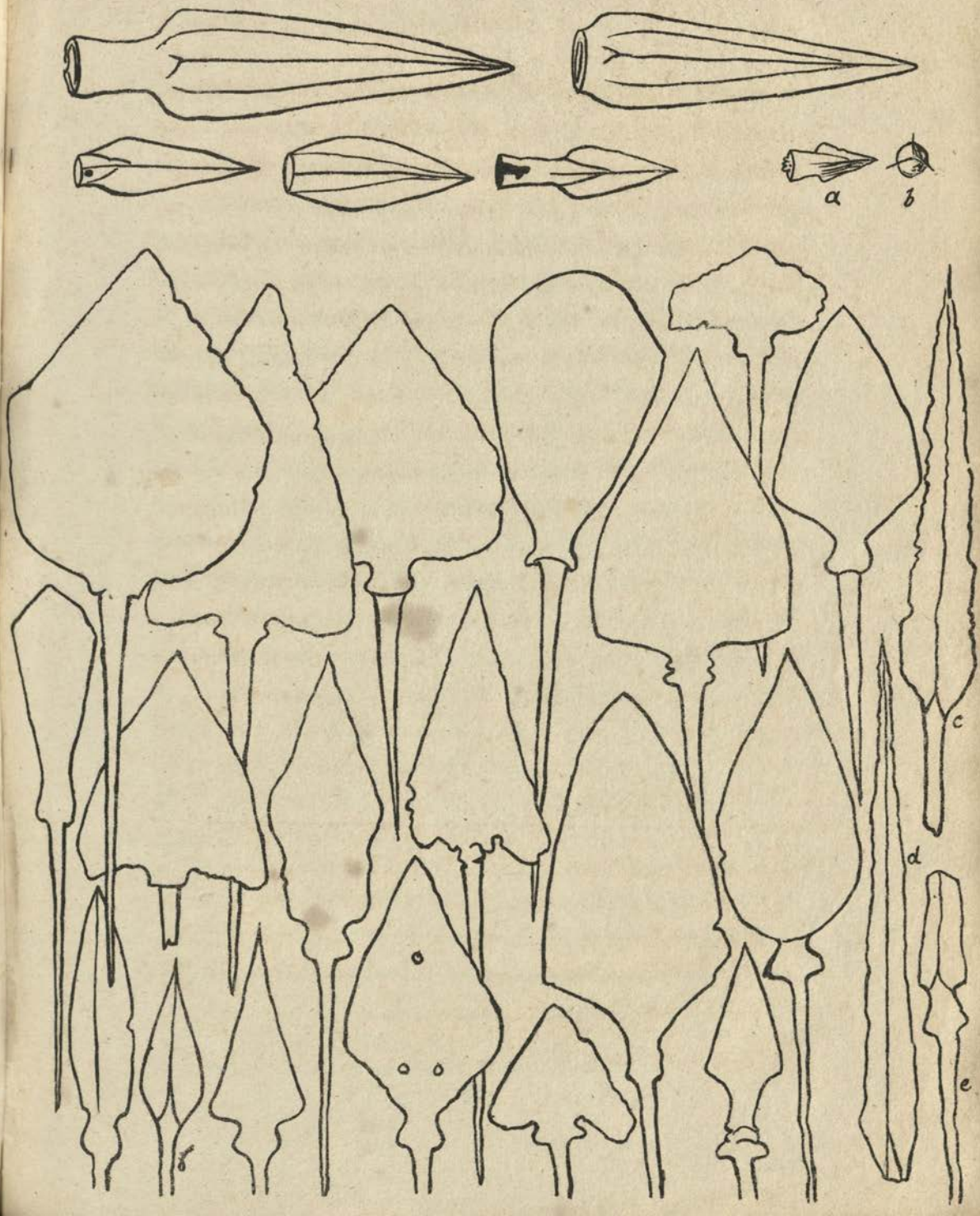
MS. *Kheláset al Akhbár.*

(19) و در تسع و خمسین و ثلثمایة سد بر اب کر بست و اب انبار در قلعه اصطخر ساخت و گفت کوهی در دریا و دریا در کوه پدید اوردم

MS. *Subeh Sádek.*

inundations on the adjacent plain, although a modern writer, SHEIKH ZARCU'B, supposes the territory of *Kurbál* to have suffered, in preceding ages, rather from the want, than from any redundancy of water. His account of AZZAD-AD-DOULEH contains the following words; "and one of the proofs of "his liberality and munificence remaining in the neighbour- "hood of *Shiráz*, is the *Bandamír*, which he constructed on "the river *Kur;* before this work the plain of *Kurbál* and the "territory adjoining had been without water and uncultivated; "he exerted his endeavours to improve them and expended "treasures to an incalculable amount in turning the course "of the river *Kur;* he first laid the foundation of an immense "dike or mound, and then caused gravel and quick lime "to be pounded or kneaded into a cement, with which, "along the line of that mound, was formed a wall or bank "so broad that horsemen might pass over; after the building "of this *band*, habitations were established throughout all "the plain and other parts of the *Kurbál* district, so that "they became well peopled and cultivated(20).

(20) و یکي از نشانه معدلت و اثار مکرمت او در شیراز بندامیر است که برود کر ساخته پیش از ان عمارات کربال و نواحي ان صحرایي بي اب و بي عمارات بوده و عضدالدوله همت بدان کماشت که ان زمین و صحرا معمور کردد و خزاین بیشمار صرف فرمود تا اب رودخانه کر کردانیدند و اول بناي شادروان عظیم بنهادند و از سنک ریزه و صاروج معجوني کردند و بر سره شادروان از ان معجون سدي ساختند چنانچه در سر ان بند سواران در عرض توانند کزشتن و بعد عمارت بند در جمله زمین و صحاري کربال بنیاد عمارت کردند و جمله معمور و ماهول کردید MS. *Shíráz Námah.*


a
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That the river did not wear a very tempting appearance has been already mentioned. Yet the water, of which I drank both here and at *Gâwakán*, was pleasant, and by the inhabitants reckoned salubrious. My tent had scarcely been pitched upon its bank, when the old *Kedkhudá* or householder who represented the *Zábet*, came in a very respectful manner to apologize for the inhospitality manifested by his people, of which he hoped that I would not complain on my arrival at *Shiráz;* as the culprits, he swore *be ser i sháh* (بسر شاه) and *be ser i Ali* (بسر علي) "by the head "of the king, and of Ali" had been already severely punished; a room, he said, was now prepared for my reception, and, as a peace-offering, he brought me a *pish-kash* (پيشكش) or present(21), consisting of a live lamb, and a flower; to which he added four ancient arrow-heads, three of brass and one of iron, discovered by his children in some trenches lately dug, within a mile; others, perfectly similar and many of different sizes and shapes have been found on the plain of *Mardasht*, where, and at *Shîráz*, I procured forty-seven; these are now in my collection and have furnished subjects for Plate XXXIX.

On the opposite side, but not very remote, was an extraordinary rock which attracted my notice; for, as the light

(21) The offering from an inferior is called *pishkash*. A gift or recompense from a Prince or superior is called *anám* (انعام), or *Khelaat* (خلعت), also *bakhshísh* (بخشيش), a Persian word much used in this sense by the Turks.

fell according to the sun's declination, on the inequalities of its surface, they presented the aspect of a ruined edifice. I thought it very probable that some story might be attached to such an object, in a country abounding with romantick fictions, and here especially, on the verge of Persepolis itself. My conjecture was not erroneous; the peasants called this rock the *Nakáreh Kháneh* (نقاره خانه, See Vol. I. p. 184); and I recollected that a nobleman at *Shiráz* had talked one day of a magnificent building so denominated near *Bandamír;* where the mighty *Jemshíd* stationed his musicians in such a manner, that by a very wonderful refinement, numerous instruments the most harsh and obstreperous conspired to gratify the monarch who, sitting in his imperial *takht* or palace, listened to their tones which were softened into harmonious modulations from floating on the air for the space of eleven or twelve miles.

Of this tale, however popular, the absurdity was acknowledged by our intelligent *Kedkhudá*, with whom I conversed respecting the *Nakáreh Kháneh*, while sketching it, as in the Plate, XXXVIII; and he accounted for its name by a much more credible tradition, which indicates this rock as the place where, on the sound of drums and trumpets, the workmen of AZZAD AD DOULEH, employed in constructing the adjoining walls and dikes, assembled together daily at certain hours, to receive their wages, and allowance of provisions; those workmen amounted in number to twelve thousand; he added

that the remains of several bridges and *bánds* (بند) inferior in magnitude and importance, might still be seen by a traveller on the banks of this river at *Rámgard* (رامگرد) and other places(22).

On the fourth I waited only for the first glimpse of day and proceeded in three hours across the *Sahrá* (صحرا) or plain of *Mardasht* or *Marvdasht* to the *Takht-i-Jemshíd* (تخت جمشید) or "Jemshid's Throne," for so are now called the ruins of that building, which as a palace or a temple, formed, we may suppose, the chief ornament of ancient Persepolis. Our course was, invariably, in the direction of North-North-West; the distance, as generally reckoned, and I believe accurately, was three farsangs or eleven miles. The country over which we had travelled during the last eighty or ninety miles (from near *Kheir*) was of a level surface but bounded on each side by ranges of lofty mountains.

Soon after we came within view of the stupendous columns, I was much pleased and surprised by the appearance of an officer in the English uniform with a party of horsemen advancing towards the village of *Mírkhuástgán* (میر خواستگان

(22) *Rámgard* or *Rámgird* (رامگرد) which in the Arabick manner is written *Rámjerd* (رامجرد), I have reason to believe a place of considerable antiquity; HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI, HA'FIZ ABRU', and others, enumerate the *band* or dike erected there as the oldest structure of that kind on the river *Kur*. The *Band Azzadi*, (now called *Bándamír*) is the second, and the *Band i Kessár* (بند قصار) generally reckoned the third.

pronounced *Mírkhasgoon)* and soon ascertained that these were Cornet Willock of the Sepoy Cavalry, and several English serjeants of the forty-seventh regiment, whom the Ambassador had detached from *Shiráz* the night before, on their way towards *Tabrîz*, where they were to be employed in training the Persian troops under ABBA'S MI'RZA', the Crown Prince. Respecting our Embassy, the intelligence brought by Mr. Willock was such as induced me to hope that I might indulge at perfect liberty for twelve or fourteen days among the ruins of Persepolis; and being desirous of commencing my researches without further delay, I hastened to the "*Throne of Jemshíd*," and, after the example of SHI'R KHA'N BEG, ascended on horseback the spacious and magnificent staircase; rode through the different structures of which this admirable edifice originally consisted, and caused my small tent to be pitched within the marble portals of the Western chamber, near the great *Hall of Columns*(23).

Here Mr. Morier paid me a visit; he had been in this neighbourhood about a week; and occupied a garden-house almost one mile from the ruins; he invited me to dinner, and mentioned that some workmen employed by him in digging had brought to light several beautiful sculptures, concealed probably during many centuries. I rambled for eight hours

(23) This chamber is represented by Le Brun in his 128th Plate, under the title of "Portique a l'ouest." (Voyages, &c. Amst. 1718, folio).

through all the ruins; content this day with a general view of every object, and not attempting to delineate any. I visited also the two fine sepulchral excavations in the adjacent mountain, described by various travellers; and another amongst rocks about half a mile towards the South-East, which has probably escaped the notice of most strangers(24). I dined in the evening with Mr. Morier and Mr. Willock at the garden-house, returned at night to my tent, and slept in the *Kháneh-i-Dárá* (خانه دارا) or "palace of Darius." Thus is sometimes denominated the *Takht*, or *Throne of Jemshíd* described also in books as *Chehl-mináreh* (چهل مناره) and *Hezár setún* (هزار ستون) the "Forty" or the "Thousand Columns."

This building once inhabited by most mighty and luxurious monarchs; the spot, we may suppose, where Alexander celebrated "*The Royal feast for Persia won;*" being now perfectly uncovered (although the windows in different apartments would indicate a roof, as without one they seem superfluous either for the admission of light or air); SHI'R KHA'N BEG had pitched his tent just outside the square or chamber which contained mine; but when retiring to rest I found that, as the weather proved delightfully mild, his *lehháf* (لحاف) or thickly quilted counterpane, was spread

(24) I do not recollect any European traveller who has mentioned this monument besides Niebuhr and Morier; their accounts shall be hereafter more particularly noticed.

on the broad flat stone over one of the windows, where he intended to pass the night; some of our servants also, had climbed on the walls, and lintels of the doorways where they were sleeping, more secured in their elevated situation, from the attacks of wild beasts and snakes, than those who remained with me, upon the ground.

On the fifth I began my researches soon after four o'clock in the morning, and returned with a few sketches to the tent, about eight. Sitting here at breakfast, I now congratulated myself on the partial accomplishment of one most favourite antiquarian object; I was at Persepolis, and from the perfect solitude which reigned among its venerable monuments, entertained the most reasonable hopes of inspecting them at leisure; the multiplicity of inscriptions and figures sculptured on every side, and each demanding minute investigation, convinced me that twelve or fourteen days would not by any means suffice for drawing and copying all, and I had accordingly resolved to prolong my residence here, when the *Ked Khudá* of an adjoining village with some peasants, came to me and declared, that the *Zábet* or chief man of the district, was ashamed to appear before the English ambassador's brother, or to acknowledge the poverty of his people; that on the arrival of my party and of Mr. Willock's soldiers many families had deserted their habitations, and that for this day's subsistence a fowl or even an egg, could not be procured without considerable difficulty.

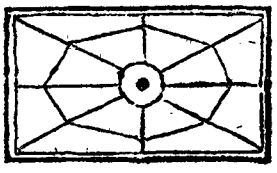
This report of scarcity banished all my pleasing visions; and was confirmed in a short time by the persons whom SHÍR KHA'N had sent several miles in various directions for the purpose of collecting food; I obtained, however, from the *Ked Khudá* some information concerning the principal remains at *Takht-i-Jemshíd*, and the places in its vicinity, and willing to avail myself of the present moment, I rode with Mr. Morier to *Naksh i Rejeb* (نقش رجب) and *Naksh i Rustam* (نقش رستم); delineated the great rock or mountain of *Istakhr*, which it will be necessary hereafter to notice more particularly; and having dined, but not in a very sumptuous manner, I again rambled until ten o'clock among the lofty columns and sculptured portals, the admirable fragments and the heaps of earth which hide from man's inspection a considerable portion of this noble edifice. Soon after midnight I joined Mr. Morier at the garden-house, and setting out by moonlight we proceeded together and arrived at *Shiráz*, a little before ten o'clock on the morning of the sixth; from this city to *Takht-i-Jemshíd*, the distance is about four and thirty miles; but an account of the road is reserved for that chapter in which I shall communicate at once such observations as were suggested both by my first visit to the Persepolitan remains, and a second examination of them two months after.

CHAPTER X.

Second Residence at Shirâz.

I FOUND our society in the camp reduced by the absence of three members, as the Ambassador wishing to acquire a knowledge of places hitherto but slightly explored, had complied with the solicitations of Mr. Gordon, Major D'Arcy and Major Stone, and sent them, sufficiently protected, to travel in different directions. Meanwhile we paid ceremonious visits to some great men of the city; one on the twenty third of May, when we rode in grand procession from the *Takht-i-Cajar* Palace, and alighting at the house of MUHAMZEKI KHA'N, were received by him at the gate and conducted through a court crowded with servants and *tufangji* (تفنگچي), or musketeers; here I remarked the singular appearance of a large reservoir or *hawz* (حوض), containing water of which the smooth surface was entirely covered with various

flowers, so as to resemble a fine carpet in brilliancy of tints; but the pattern was formal; as several floating rods or switches separated the flowers according to their colours in distinct and regular compartments; thus



After an hour's conversation during which were presented, besides the usual *Caleáns* and coffee, some iced water of the *bíd mishk*, a most delicious beverage(1); iced rose water, iced orange sherbet, and sweetmeats, we returned to the camp, at one o'clock, when Fahrenheit's Thermometer in the shade was up to 93; but in the morning at six o'clock it had only risen to 67; the nights were now cool and pleasant.

Before I left *Shiráz*, a bookseller and a painter who frequently visited our tents, and a *Sarráf* (صراف) or money changer residing in the *bázár*, had promised to collect during my absence whatever uncommon manuscripts, medals, and sculptured stones should fall into their hands; and, as I had purchased some articles from each, at the first price demanded, they swore by the head of ALI that until my return they

(1) Extracted from the flowers of the *bíd mishk* (بید-مشک) a very fragrant kind of willow.

would not offer such things for sale. This promise, however, had been forgotten, and they sold at different times both coins and gems, fortunately to friends who with much kindness have since transferred them to me. As on such occasions a Persian listens to reproach with perfect insensibility, I did not think it necessary to upbraid them with duplicity and falsehood. They, accordingly, submitted to my inspection almost every day while we remained at *Shiráz*, Arabick and Persian books, engraved gems, extraordinary miniature pictures, and *púl-i-kadím* (پول قدیم) or "ancient money."

In this city which on coins is still entitled the *Dár al ylm* (دار العلم) or "Seat of Science;" and might have been aptly styled, as a celebrated orientalist remarks, the "*Persian Athens*" (2), manuscripts of intrinsick value seem no less rare than learned men; such works, I mean, as a person conversant with Eastern Bibliography would chiefly desire to procure. Of HA'FIZ's *Diván* (دیوان حافظ), transcripts abounded in every size and form; and of the other great Shirazian poet, SAADI (سعدي) emphatically styled "the *Sheikh*" (شیخ), copies of the various compositions are numerous and much esteemed among his fellow-

(2) "Hanc (urbem) aliquis non male Persiæ Athenas vocaverit, tum quod purissi-"ma lingua Persica, eaque peculiaribus idiotismis ac elegantiis, quas grammatici "gentis illius modos Schirazios vocant, luxurians, incolis ejus sit nativa, tum etiam "quod amœniorum ac politiorum literarum domicilium dici mereatur." Revicski "Specimen Poeseos Persicæ." Procem. p. xviii. a rare work, printed at Vienna in 1771, (duod.) containing the sixteen odes of HA'FIZ's Diván that end in the letter *alif* ا; with a translation and comments.

citizens. The *Sháhnámah* of FIRDAUSI(3), the *Khamseh* or *Panje Ganje* of NIZA'MI(4), the *Kuliát of* JA'MI, or his seven select poems forming the *Haft Aureng*(5), do not often occur; and when handsomely written or embellished with paintings and illuminations, are rated most exorbitantly. The works of HA'TEFI (هاتفي), KHUSRAU (خسرو), ANVERI (انوري), AARFI (عرفي), KHA'KA'NI (خاقاني), JELA'L AD'DÍNRU'MI (جلال الدين رومي), KA'TEBI (كاتبي), ATTA'R (عطار), SENA'I (سناي), THENA'I (ثناي), generally called SENA'I in Persian pronunciation(6), SHAMSTABRI'ZI (شمس تبريزي), MA'NI (ماني), KEMA'L

(3) Respecting the great *Sháhnámah* (شاه نامه) or "Book of Kings," and its author FIRDAUSI (فردوسي) See Vol. I. Pref. p. ix. also p. 48-115, and other places.

(4) The poems of NIZA'MI (نظامي) are sometimes called *Panje Ganje* (پنج كنج) or the "Five Treasures;" also, like the quintuple collection of other poets works, *Khamseh* (خمسة), from the Arabick word (خمس) *khams*, "five." His *Sekander Námah*, or "History of Alexander," is, however, frequently divided into two parts, as I have before observed, Vol. I. p. 61.

(5) *Kuliát* (كليات from كل all, every), the complete collection of an author's works. The *Kuliát* of JA'MI (جامی) comprises forty different compositions, in prose and verse, among which are several poems each consisting of many thousand lines. One volume in my collection contains all these works, very finely and accurately written on thirteen hundred and thirty six pages, richly ornamented with gold lines, and illuminated titles of books and heads of chapters. This copy was made by a scribe of *Herát*, in the year 941, (A. D. 1534). The seven principal poems of JA'MI, constitute the *Haft aureng* (هفت اورنك) "or Seven Thrones;" (one of the constellations so named); of this work I possess a most splendid and beautiful copy written in 955, (A. D. 1548), by a scribe of *Shíráz*.

(6) The more modern poet THENA'I (whose *díván* I procured) is commonly styled *Khuájeh* خواجه. The other who finished his extraordinary poem the حديقة *Hadíket*, in the year of our era 1139, is entitled *Hakím* حكيم, The sage, or Philosopher. From the works of both, extracts shall be given in another place.

ISFAHA'NI (كمال اصفهاني) HAMGAR SHI'RA'ZI (همكر شيرازي), SELNA'N SA'VEJI (سلمان ساوجي), ISMETI (عصمتي), ABD AL WA'SIAA JEBELI (عبدالواسع جبلي), VA'EZ (واعظ), and many other poets of inferior reputation, were seldom in the shops; they might, however, by private negotiation, be obtained at prices far beyond their real worth. But among three hundred Persian books, or more, in prose and verse, I could not here discover above seventeen or eighteen which my own collection wanted; most of these I consequently purchased. For Historical, Geographical and Philological manuscripts, the principal objects of my pursuit, I was generally directed to *Isfahán;* and of thirty five Arabick volumes which I examined, thirty three were treatises on Muhammedan Theology, and controversy, or insipid legends of saints; the other two I obtained for a trifling sum, the vender probably thinking them commentaries on the *Korán*, as they were tied up in a parcel with tracts of that description. The reader will find in the Appendix, an account of them and of some Persian books procured at *Shíráz*.

Gems or engraved stones were brought by hundreds; for the Persians not being capable of discriminating between ancient and modern, I had instructed my collectors to show me all that were offered for sale; many beautiful onyxes, agates and carnelions, such as are now used in rings and seals, disfigured by the names of *Muselmáns* and sentences from the *Korán*, were confounded in the same bag or parcel

with those exhibiting human forms, *Pahlavi* inscriptions, Persepolitan devices, or sculptures of an extraordinary and uncertain kind, but executed probably in ages very remote. Although I procured above seventy at *Shiráz*, it was a matter of surprise that engraved gems did not occur in greater numbers; for there is reason to believe that they were formerly almost as much used in this country as among the Romans. (See Vol. I. Append. No. 13, and Pl. XXI.)

Medals are often found in Persia; when singly or in small numbers the peasants generally perforate them (especially those of silver) without any regard to the injuries which the inscription, the king's face, the fire-altar or its sacred flame, or any other device may suffer from the operation; after this, they are hung about the necks of their children; or when strung, several in a row, form ornaments for the hair or the foreheads of their wives; so that, as the learned Pococke remarked in different parts of Asia where the same fashion prevailed, a woman's head "is often a very valuable piece of antiquity"(7).

But as treasures become the king's property, to discover one may sometimes be considered a very serious misfortune; men who had found sums of gold and silver and given up all, have yet been bastinadoed for not rendering an account

(7) Observations on Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, &c. Vol. II. p. 186.

of more, (See Vol. I. p. 444). There are, however, means by which the rapacity and vigilance of government may be eluded; a portion of the treasure, judiciously and secretly expended in bribes, will purchase for the finder permission to enjoy the rest; all traces of ancient coinage are soon lost in the crucible; bullion immediately assumes the form of current money at the royal mints established in every province of Persia; and I fear that many Daricks are now circulating degraded into *tumáns* (تومان) of the present king(8).

Mr. Bruce at *Búshehr* mentioned two persons who within a few years had discovered considerable treasures; one of them was, and probably still is, a shepherd; for, having indiscreetly excited suspicion he forfeited all that he had found. The other is a well-known *Háji*(9); he acknowledges himself indebted for his wealth to a countryman who, in digging a field or garden near some ruins, found so much old money as enriched both him and his friend, the agent employed in melting and converting it into current coin. The *Háji* is now a reputable trader, and does not restrict his speculations to any particular branch of commerce; for I

(8) The crucible is equally fatal to medals when found by the Turks. Not long before we landed at *Búshehr*, a treasure had been discovered among some ruins near *Mousel;* it consisted of ancient money which several officers appointed by the Turkish government were engaged in packing and sending off (in sealed boxes) for the purpose of recoining.

(9) *Háji* (حاجي) a *Muselmán* who has performed the حج or holy pilgrimage to Mecca. Christians who have visited Jerusalem sometimes adopt this title.

met, one day, on the *Isfahán* road, a *káflah* (قافله or small *caravan)* of mules loaded with merchandize of various kinds belonging to him; among which were two poor girls, carried in a *cajávah*, (See Misc. Plate XXIII. Vol. I. fig. 16), on their way towards *Tehrán*, where they were to be sold; it was said, that during some predatory incursion on the Arabian coast, they had been lately taken; and if I might judge by the eyes of one and half the face of the other, they were most unaccountably chearful; as if not feeling the miseries of their present condition, and perfectly indifferent respecting their future fate.

Although the money of Muhammedan Princes was not among the objects of my numismatical researches, I possess through the kindness of different friends above three hundred of those coins (silver and copper) denominated *Kúfi*, or *Cufick*, of which a very large collection might easily be formed in Persia. At *Shíráz* I purchased a few of gold, in hopes that the *Sarráf* or money-changer, might be encouraged to preserve medals of greater antiquity and value(10).

Some silver coins of the Arsacidan or Parthian kings were the result. Of this class with Greek legends the collections

(10) Some coins of the early *Khálifahs* were struck at Cufa or *Kúfah* (کوفه) a city near the Euphrates, southward of the spot where Babylon once stood. But it was not from this circumstance that the denomination *Cufick* has been given to the whole class of coins; but from the Arabick character named after the city, although

in Europe are numerous, and they have been arranged and described by many writers. I procured also here, three of more rare occurrence, which may, however, be ascribed to Princes of the same dynasty; these exhibit inscriptions in the character found on several of bronze, noticed elsewhere (11); and they have suggested remarks on a very obscure portion of Asiatick History, which I shall endeavour to illustrate in another work.

We were surprised on the thirteenth of May by an explosion much louder than the report of any gun usually fired at *Shíráz*; and it was found to have proceeded from a barrel or vessel filled with powder, which being ignited by means of a long train, blew to atoms a robber that had been previously fastened to it; he was not the only criminal who suffered death at this time; one man was killed with swords and his separated limbs exposed all day upon the walls; another was hanged, and a fourth had been condemned to perish in some different manner, but the Prince instructed his little son to intercede and the man's life was spared. The

equally used at *Wásit*, *Basrah* and *Baghdád*, Damascus, *Balkh* and *Samarcand*; in fact, coextensive with the Arabian language. I obtained at *Ispahán*, some precious fragments of ancient Arabick writing in the *khat-e-Kúfi* (خط كوفي) or Cufick character, on fine parchment or vellum which the Persian book-binders called *púst-i ahú* (پوست اهو), fawn's skin or antelope's skin. Of this writing I shall give specimens in a subsequent Plate.

(11) See Vol. I. p. 117. and 439. also, Plate XXI, Nos. 35 and 36.

modes of execution here mentioned are humane and gentle in comparison with the tortures often inflicted on robbers, whom the laws of this country generally persecute with unrelenting severity; to immure them alive is, I understand, a frequent punishment; of this many instances might be given and confirmed by indisputable evidence; it will be sufficient to adduce the testimony of Dr. Fryer, an old traveller, and of one very recent, the ingenious Mr. Macdonald([12]).

On the morning of the seventeenth at four o'clock, an hour pronounced auspicious by the astrologers, loud sounds of drums and trumpets, and the firing of guns, announced from the walls of *Shíráz*, that HUSEIN ALI MÍRZA was on that day to receive a *Khelaat*, or dress of honour, which the king, his father, had appropriated for him on the *nawrúz* festival. The messenger who brought those robes had been detained two days near the city until a favourable aspect of the planets authorized the Prince to invest himself. For this purpose

([12]) "From this plain to *Lhor*," says Dr. Fryer, (in 1678), "both in the highways "and on the high mountains were frequent monuments of thieves immured in terror "of others who might commit the like offence; they having literally a Stone-Doublet; "whereas we say metaphorically when any is in prison, *He has a Stone-Doublet on*; "for these are plastered up, all but their heads, in a round stone tomb, which are left "out, not out of kindness, but to expose them to the injury of the weather, and "assaults of the birds of prey, who wreak their rapin with as little remorse, as they "did devour their fellow-subjects." (Travels, p. 318). Macdonald in his Geographical Memoir p. 31. (1813), says "The body of the culprit is sometimes torn "asunder by being bound to branches of trees afterwards separated; and I remember "having once seen four thieves built into a wall, all but their heads, and thus left "to perish."

he set out soon after sun-rise, and the ceremony was performed in the little *burge* (برج) or tower, called *Khelaat Púshán* (خلعت پوشان) from its being the place to which, for many centuries, the Governors of *Fárs* proceeded on such occasions with an *istikbál* of several thousand persons(13); among the crowds attending HUSEIN ALI MÍRZA, were many Jews, who, according to an ancient custom, having killed a cow, threw its head before the feet of the Prince's horse; their wives (as I heard) accompanied these Jews. ZEMBU'REKS (زنبورک) or swivel guns(14), were discharged from the backs of camels, and the procession returned before noon. The *Burge* of *Khelaat Púshán* is about four miles from *Shíráz*, on the road leading to *Takht i Jemshíd* or Persepolis; and it was said that a similar tower bearing the same name, and erected for the same purpose of investiture, was situate near *Tabríz*, and every other city the capital of a province(15).

(13) The Tower derives its name from *khelaat*, the dress; and *púshán*, investing, clothing &c.

(14) From *Zembúr* (زنبور) a hornet, wasp, or stinging fly.

(15) From some future remarks on the curious subject of gifts bestowed and the offerings received by great Eastern personages, it will appear that the word *khelaat* often implied many valuable articles besides the mere robe or dress of honour. Thus FIRDAUSI describing the present given by king AFRA'SIA'B to SIA'VESH, includes under the word *khelaat* not only rich dresses, swords, helmets and splendid saddle-furniture, but horses, purses of money, jewels of different kinds, also "five hundred "male and as many female attendants, besides a cup filled with resplendent rubies."

پرستار پانصد و پانصد غلام
یکی پرز یاقوت رخشنده جام

MS. *Shâh Námah.*

On the eighth of June, at nine o'clock in the morning, we attended the Ambassador during a ceremonious visit at the *Haft-tan*, where resided MÍRZA ZEKI, our new *Mehmándár* whom the king had sent from *Tehrán*, and who, as I before observed, was one of the principal ministers of state; here we enjoyed the usual refreshment, coffee, *caleáns*, rosewater, sweetmeats and sherbets; but to me the most grateful part of the entertainment was a set of four musicians, selected each for his peculiar excellence, from a numerous band. One played on the *Kamáncheh*, (a kind of violin before described, Vol. I. p. 238), and occasionally accompanied the instrument with his voice; the next, by singing only, seemed most to charm our Persian friends, of whom many were assembled in the room; another managed the *deff* (دف) or *dáireh* (دایره) with considerable taste and execution[16]; he too, sometimes exerted his vocal powers; the fourth was a *Habshi* or Abyssinian black, who beat with short sticks, on two small drums, or basons apparently of metal, having covers of parchment; and they produced altogether a kind of harmony that caused me to regret for the first time the conclusion of a visit to any great man, although this lasted three hours during which I had been seated cross-legged on the floor. Several Persian odes were sung to very pleasing tunes;

(16) A representation of this instrument (which is of the tambourin kind), and portraits of some musicians which I sketched from the life, shall be given in the account of my first residence at *Tehrán*.

and at the desire of a particular guest, well acquainted with those minstrels, a *Cábul* (کابل) air was performed which abounded in passages of exquisite sweetness. My place was just opposite the musicians, and I took an opportunity of sketching their figures; but these Mr. Morier has already delineated; (See the Second Volume of his Travels, p. 92).

On the next morning at eight o'clock, Mr. Morier and I rode to the *Chehl-tan* where the Reverend Mr. Martyn, and Captain Lockett, accompanied by Lieutenant Taylor, (already introduced to the reader, Vol. I. p. 185), had arrived from *Búshehr* some hours before. In the evening those gentlemen dined with the Ambassador; Mr. Martyn had previously been much indisposed, and suffered exceedingly from the fatigue of his journey, and the heat at this time excessive. His object in coming to Persia was that he might render more perfect a translation of the Gospels, commenced in India, and to the performance of which he soon after fell a sacrifice in the prime of life: his strength of constitution being unfortunately not adequate to his zeal.

Capt. Lockett, by this excursion to *Shíráz*, had gratified his own curiosity, and expected that it would enable him to procure rare manuscripts for the Calcutta college, of which he was a meritorious and ingenious member; his intention was to visit *Isfahán* and, afterwards, *Baghdád*, where he hoped to finish his learned commentaries on Arabick grammar. Mr.

Taylor, having passed a few days at *Shíráz,* returned to the duties of his military situation at *Búshehr.*

June 13th. We congratulated the Ambassador on the birth of a daughter which occurred this morning at the *Takht-i-Cajar* Palace. He mentioned, that the Queen had just sent a very polite message of consolation, begging that Lady Ouseley would not afflict herself because the child was a female; since the same being who had, in his divine wisdom, thought proper now to send a girl, might on the next occasion bless the parents with a boy. Sons are, almost exclusively, the objects of Persian wives.

About this time the gentlemen who had undertaken expeditions into different parts of the country, rejoined us in the camp. Colonel D'Arcy had gone in the direction of South-West to *Firúzabád* (فیروز اباد); near this he made a drawing of two fine sculptures cut in the face of a rock, and representing the combats of a Sassánian conqueror, with antagonists, probably, of the Arsacidan family; he also made, with his accustomed elegance of delineation, a view of the Fire-temple or *átesh kaddah* (اتش کده), a singular ruin remaining at *Firúzabád;* and he fortunately escaped, with slight loss, from a party of robbers who had seized his horses(17).

Major Stone had explored the *Serái Bahrám* (سراي بهرام);

17) See in the Appendix a more particular account of *Firúzabád.*

and discovered there carved on a tablet of which he shewed me the outline, one full-fronted pedestrian figure with two men standing on each side; these hold up their right hands pointed towards BAHRA'M, as the chief personage appears to be from his crown, of which the wings, besides the local name and tradition, would indicate that monarch([18]). During his excursion Major Stone also revisited *Shápúr*, and examined the contiguous mountains, where he succeeded in finding that colossal statue which I had sought, like many others, in vain, although it was evident that we must have been, at one time, not much farther from it than half a mile. Respecting this statue See Vol. I. p. 291; and Plate XIX.

The journey of Mr. Gordon was the most extensive and dangerous of all; for he travelled into *Khúzistán* or Susiana, a province where the petty chiefs of districts and villages were engaged in constant warfare; he saw, however, *Shúster* containing little that appeared ancient, the supposed tomb of Daniel being a structure of *muselmán* times; but he thought *Shúsh* although nearly covered by heaps of earth, a spot that would yield the antiquary a more abundant harvest([19]).

([18]) See Vol. I. p. 441; and Miscell. Plate, (XXIII), fig. 37; also the present volume p. 47. In the Appendix I shall again notice the *Serái Bahrám*.

([19]) The device sculptured on a remarkable stone, which Mr. Gordon saw at *Shúsh*, the ancient *Susa*, is engraved among the *antiques* in Pl. XXI. from a drawing made on the spot by Captain Monteith, as mentioned in p. 420 of Vol. I; where also, (and in p. 422) I have briefly noticed the Tomb of Daniel.

During our residence at *Shíráz* the Ambassador received many presents of game from HUSEIN ALI MI'RZA; the servants who brought them were remunerated with money, and it was whispered that several of them depended principally on such circumstances for their support. One morning some venison was sent, and the bearer seemed much dissatisfied with a reward of nearly ten guineas; for, after a long chase, the throat of the antelope (or *ahú* آهو) had been cut by the prince's own hand; a conquest so flattering to this modern Nimrod that he delighted in wearing the clothes which recorded his atchievement in stains of blood. Before the Ambassador, no person had ever been so honoured, except the AMI'N AD DOULEH (امين الدولة, a minister whose name will frequently occur), and he, as we learned, bestowed on the nobleman who delivered the venison, rich dresses and other gifts, amounting in value to five hundred pounds.

This system of remuneration is universal, and the equivalent returns for gifts most exactly ascertained. The Prince, however, affected to act with unusual liberality on one occasion, when ZEKI KHA'N accompanied the man who brought some game, and in a loud and formal tone thus addressed the Ambassador: "I am directed by HUSEIN ALI MI'RZA, to "inform your Excellency, that he hopes you will not give "money to his servants; nor does he wish that you should "pay for what you receive, as articles are purchased in a "*bázár* or common market. When his Royal Highness

"sends a gift, it is merely as a proof of his esteem."—"Such" added the honest ZEKI KHA'N, in a lower tone, "is the "Prince's message; now let me advise you to give the person "who brings this present, five *tumáns* more than you gave "to the last. This man is a greater favourite of HUSEIN "ALI MÍRZA, and therefore it is expected that a distinction "should be made."

Meanwhile NEBI KHA'N, the *Vazír* of *Fárs*, who during several years had, in his Prince's name, most oppressively governed the province, was absent from *Shíráz*. Of this minister the reader will recollect some anecdotes given in chapter VI, (Vol. I. p. 255); his *Demúkh* murders, and the menaces of his Sovereign who had summoned him to *Tehrán* and still detained him there. We were daily amused with fresh rumours concerning the Royal displeasure which he had so justly incurred and the various proofs of it which he had received. According to some reports FATHH ALI SHA'H had insisted that he should pay into the treasury a considerable portion of his ill-gotten wealth; the *Vazír* pleaded poverty; the monarch commanded some attendants to precipitate him from a balcony on a paved court below, where he must, inevitably, have been dashed to pieces; but at the intercession of AMÍN AD DOULEH, who became responsible for the sum required, NEBI KHA'N was permitted to retire, not without many blows from the *feráshes* and other servants attending at the king's door. A second statement differed

in some respects, and related that when the *Vazír* declared himself unable to procure the money, FATHH ALI SHA'H reproached him for his crimes, struck him on the face, and, with the high wooden heel of a slipper, (always iron-bound) beat out several of his teeth. It was added that when NEBI KHA'N professed his readiness to comply, the king, with extreme complacency, assured him that had he been really angry, the common *ferâshes* should have inflicted punishment, not his own royal hand, which, in fact, conferred an honour while administering blows. The *Vazír*, bleeding at his nose and mouth, acknowledged much gratitude for the favours bestowed on him; promised to raise the money within a certain time; was immediately invested with a *khelaat* or splendid robe of state, and departed bearing this mark of distinction from the place where many courtiers expected (and hoped) that he would have lost his head.

These and similar anecdotes circulated amongst us, and were regarded by the best-informed natives as highly probable. NEBI KHA'N having engaged to pay a considerable sum, never thought for one moment of drawing it from his own treasures, but employed various agents at *Shîráz* and throughout the dependent districts, in extorting from the wretched inhabitants whatever could be obtained, by the most iniquitous means; this conduct, which in the beginning affected chiefly the villages, at length distressed the city; for the peasants could no longer supply its markets at the former

rates with necessary articles of food; the price of bread, particularly, was so increased that, on the thirteenth of June, multitudes of people driven to despair proceeded in a body and demanded of the *Sheikh al islám*, (شيخ الاسلام) (who is head both of religion and law) a *fatwa*, (فتوا) granting them permission to kill three persons; MI'RZA HA'DI, (ميرزا هادي) one of the *Vazir's* favourite instruments in oppressing the poor: another of his unworthy agents, whose name I have forgotten; and the principal baker. But they took refuge in the palace, and were there protected. The mob pursued them to the gates, when ZEKI KHA'N came out and listened to the popular complaints which accused HUSEIN ALI MI'RZA of neglecting the welfare of his father's subjects; and contrasted his indolence with the measures adopted by ABBA'S MI'RZA and the other princes, his brothers, who in the territories governed by them, contrived that provisions should be always cheap; at last, the principal baker entrusted himself to the crowd; and with difficulty saved his life by proving the exorbitant price which MI'RZA HA'DI had obliged him to pay for wheat. The other objects of publick fury concealed themselves for some days in the palace; and we heard that at this time the Prince's servants expressed very loudly their discontent on being unjustly punished when the horses committed to their charge, appeared more lean than heretofore, although the allowance of barley had been much reduced.

It was also mentioned that HUSEIN ALI MIRZA found himself under the necessity of conferring on ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, as one whom the king had honoured, a *khelaat* or dress of ceremony; but this gift was not bestowed without an intimation that a *pish kash* or offering of, at least, equal value, would previously be expected. Hints too, were plainly given that the Prince wished to receive from the English Ambassador, (who was now preparing the customary present), a sum of money rather than watches or clocks, pieces of cloth, double barreled guns, or European trinkets, which, he apprehended, might not be *sold* to advantage. In the mean time he sent Sir Gore Ouseley three horses, a handsome sword, and a belt ornamented with emeralds, all large but none free from blemishes([20]).

On the sixteenth of June we accompanied the Ambassador to the *arg* or Palace where HUSEIN ALI MIRZA was sitting in the *Díván kháneh* or Hall of Audience; a handsome open-fronted room, the walls of which exhibited three large portraits of the king. In the court were many trees, and those fountains with water-works setting in motion the tinkling machinery so well and so concisely described by Mr. Morier, (Travels, Vol. I. p. 108). A few days after this visit,

([20]) The horses were each worth fifty or sixty pounds, the sword and belt were, together, estimated at seventy or eighty; a greater price than this is frequently given for a good blade alone, especially if an old *Kara Khorásáni* (قراخراسانی) or if made in the time of SHA'H ABBA'S by ASED ALLAH (اسد الله) of *Isfahán*.

the Ambassador sent his offering to the Prince; he had determined never to give money on such occasions, but the present consisted of so many articles as covered twenty *khânches* (خوانچه pronounced *khooncheh*), wooden trays; there were several Indian shawls, some chintz, and Brussels lace; pistols, fowling pieces, telescopes, dressing boxes, cases of mathematical and drawing instruments; a collection of English engravings, plain and coloured; some packages of the most excellent gunpowder and flints; girandoles and chandeliers of fine cut glass; a repeating watch, with a gold chain, and a beautiful diamond ring, valued at about one thousand pounds.

The first of July had been fixed for our departure, but the Mehmándár, Mírza Zeki, very seriously requested of the Ambassador to postpone it for a few days, when, as he had learned from the astrologers, a more propitious aspect of certain planets and constellations might be expected. Sir Gore readily complied, for some unforeseen circumstances respecting mules and camels had rendered it impossible that he could leave *Shíráz* at the time originally appointed.

The weather was now extremely warm, and the wind often absolutely parching; not only the leather or pasteboard covers of books were curled up, but writing-desks, tables, and other things made of wood, were warped and split; even some that in Bengal had resisted a higher degree of thermo-

metrical heat, were injured here; clouds or rather pillars of sand were frequently whirled along the plain, their heads apparently elevated many hundred yards, but their bases fortunately, of narrow compass; for houses, tents, travellers, whatever objects stood in their direction, were involved and almost overwhelmed in dust; locusts, also in great numbers passed over the city and the camp. On the 11th of June they seemed at first like a yellowish cloud of immense extent; and a very extraordinary noise attended their flight. Some fell on the ground; I thought them of a more reddish colour than those at *Búshehr*, although evidently of the same kind. In the latter end of June and the first week of July, Fahrenheit's thermometer at two or three o'clock after noon on different days, rose, in the shade, from 98 or 99, to 100, 103, 105, and 107; at night it generally sunk to 59 or 60. But during the greatest heats the *bázár* or market was abundantly supplied from the numerous *yakcháls* (یخچال) and *yakh khánehs* (یخ خانه), with snow and ice, which we purchased on very moderate terms. With these our wine or our sherbet was cooled. Twice or thrice a day the *Sekás* proceeded from tent to tent, sprinkling water all about; and they as frequently replenished (from the neighbouring stream of *Ruknábád*) the *rabias* or skins suspended near each gentleman's door. Yet throughout Persia the air of *Shíráz* is celebrated on account of its salubrity; and for my own part, I never enjoyed more perfect health in any other country; many of our Europeans, however, began now to complain,

and the heat of this place at a more advanced season of the year must be excessive; it seems, indeed proverbial; for HASSAN ASFENDYA'R (حسن اسفندیار), proving the excellence of *Tabristán* (طبرستان) his favourite province, boasts that it has "not heats like those of *Omán*, *Shíráz*, or *Ahwáz*([21]).

([21]) I shall give the passage entire, from his MS. work, as it may gratify the naturalist to see a catalogue of those plagues for which different cities and countries were remarkable above five hundred years ago, as, we may suppose, they are at present. The author quotes a man of *Khorásán*, named (ابو الحسن یزدادي) ABU'L HASSAN YEZDA'DI, who had lived to the age of an hundred years, and travelled through most countries of this world, or *the seven climates*; and declared that of all which he had seen, no region was equal to *Tabristán*; for, having enumerated other advantages: "here," he says, "we never find snakes or serpents as in *Sejestán* and *Hin-*
" *dustán*; nor scorpions as in *Nisibín*, and *Cáshán*, and *Jáshk*, and *Maúkán*, or
" *Maúghán*; nor locusts like those of *Asker*; nor venemous spiders nor fleas as in
" *Ardebíl*; nor such wild beasts as are in *Arabia*; nor crocodiles like those of *Egypt*;
" nor whales as in *Basrah*; nor famine as in *Shám* or *Syria*; nor heats like those
" of *Omán*, *Shíráz* and *Ahwáz*."

چون ماران سجستان و هندوستان و کردم نصیبین و قاشان و جاشک و موقان و ملخا عسکر و رتیلا و کیک اردبیل و سباع عرب و تمساح مصر و کوسه بصره و قحط شام و کرما عمان و شیراز و اهواز (MS. *Táríkh i Tabristán*).

In this passage I have ventured to supply the conjunctive و between *Jáshk* and *Maukán*; without it *Jáskh* must signify, not the place so called, but the noxious animal or whatever circumstance particularly constituted the plague of *Maukán*; and this name, it may be here remarked (from the MS. Dict. *Berhán Kattea*) is written both موغان (*Múghán*) and موقان (*Múkán*). What I have translated "whales," the MS. expresses by کوسه (*Kauseh*), and Arabian authors by کوسج (*Kaus-j*); this, in some respects might be supposed a shark, but the learned Bochart, (Hierozoicon, Lib. 1. c. 7), in his account collected from AL DAMIRI and AL CAZVI'NI, classes it among cetaceous fishes that frequent, at a certain season, the river Tigris near *Basrah*, and are equally formidable to men as to other creatures from their voracity and teeth like points of spears, swords, or saws. The work of ZAKARIA AL CAZVINI, which Bochart consulted, I have not been able to procure in Arabick; it is the *Ajaïeb al Makhlúkát* (عجایب المخلوقات) or "Wonders of Creation;" and my collection comprises two fine copies of it in the Persian language, illustrated

It was said that various wild beasts frequented the rocky mountains near our camp, and sometimes prowled even to the city walls; none, however, molested us in the tents besides *Jackals*, which here, as throughout Persia, are extremely numerous, running all night in packs like dogs, and howling until day-light in a most melancholy manner([22]).

There were many insects of the spider kind; one reckoned highly venemous, the *ruteila*, (رتيلا) which is, I believe, the Tarantula; two of these at different times were found creep-

with a multiplicity of painted figures; among which are two representations of the *Kausej*, one differing from the other, and neither, probably, resembling the real fish. Concerning whales found near *Basrah*, See Vol. I. ch. 5. p. 230.

([22]) Of the Jackal (*Sheghál* شغال) see an excellent delineation (from Pallas), and a very good account, in the "Histoire des Decouvertes faites par divers savans Voyageurs," &c. Tome II. p. 240, Pl. 7, (Berne 1779). This creature, the "canis aureus" of Linnæus, was regarded by Gmelin as of an intermediate species between the wolf and the fox, while Buffon rather thought it intermediate between the wolf and dog. The Jackals prowl together in flocks among the cemeteries for carcasses; about farms for poultry; and, like foxes, they often devour fruit. From houses or tents they frequently carry off such things as boots, shoes, or clothes. The work above quoted notices (Tome II. p. 243) their "horribles, insupportables" cries and frightful howls interrupted by barkings like those of dogs. Thevenot quaintly describes the sort of canine musick produced by Jackals. "Ces *chakáles* sont des animaux fort "larrons, non seulement de ce qui est bon a manger, mais encore de tout ce qu'ils "trouvent, emportant même souvent des Turbans; ils hurlent quasi comme des chiens; "l'un faisant la haute, l'autre la basse, l'autre la taille, et d'abord que l'un crie, les "autres crient aussi; de sorte qu'ils font ensemble ce que l'on peut veritablement "dire une *musique de chiens*." (Voyages, Tome III. p. 206, Amst. 1727). The Jackals seldom attack grown persons, although they speedily devour children. Bodies must be buried deep in the ground and protected from their scratching by stones and thorns or briars. Yet the Jackal is more easily tamed than the fox, and will even play with dogs.

ing on my bed. Scorpions or *kazhdem*, (کژدم) were often seen among the ruins of walls, under stones, and in the crevices of floors and ceilings of old houses.

Many snakes were killed here; some on the roof of the *Takht-i-Cajar* Palace to which they had ascended in search of birds nests; none of those exceeded a yard in length, and perhaps their bite was not very dangerous; yet I recollect that a *ferâsh*, one of the Ambassador's servants, having been slightly punctured on the hand by a snake, suffered much during two or three days from an inflamed arm; he afterwards, however, without apprehending or receiving any injury, handled those creatures and permitted them to twine about his naked wrist; such confidence had he in the virtue communicated to him by the *dem* (دم) or breath of a celebrated saint, which, he verily believed, had saved him from death, though not altogether from pain, on the occasion above mentioned.

This holy personage, and another of equal sanctity, could, as report said, by causing any man to swallow a piece of sugar-candy on which they had previously breathed while muttering certain prayers, render him secure from the venom either of snakes or scorpions. For the advantage of the citizens, one generally resided at *Shíráz*, while the other extended his beneficial powers among the inhabitants of distant towns and villages; those to whom they imparted the

miraculous *dem* paying fees according to their means or generosity. Several persons who had armed themselves with this preservative strongly advised me to follow their example when setting out towards *Fassa*; and on the morning that my tent was first pitched among the ruins of Persepolis, a snake, about two feet long, passed over the carpet which had been lately spread, and was seized by SHI'R KHAN' BEG, who held its head between his thumb and forefinger while the tail was writhing and curling round his arm; he allowed it, however, to escape; for the *dem*, I believe, loses all its efficacy in those who kill a snake.

Reminding me of this occurrence, my servants one day announced that they had brought the holy *Sheikh* from the city, and requested that I would now receive a gift which hereafter might contribute to the preservation of my life. Being engaged in writing I declined the blessing, and expressed some doubts whether this *Shíráz* saint was as properly qualified to confer it as his coadjutor. All present solemnly affirmed with a variety of oaths and testimonies of past experience, that the two *Sheikhs* were most perfectly equal, both in the breathing power and in sanctity; therefore I could no longer dispute the point; indeed it became my own fixed opinion, and ISMAAI'L (اسمعيل), who attended me as *Valet de Chambre*, was directed to introduce the saint.

He was an old man of squalid aspect, and accompanied by one still more filthy, who carried a bag and a box, con-

taining snakes of different sizes and kinds; some very large and of formidable appearance; but all, I am firmly convinced, rendered incapable of wounding. The dirty Saint, his attendant and two or three other Persians, handled these living reptiles as if they had been cords or ribbands. I was curious to witness a ceremony which inspires such confidence into thousands, and agreed to pay for the precious *dem* one *riál*[23]; sending at the same time for Mr. Morier, Mr. Gordon, and other gentlemen; that they might at least be amused if not induced to partake of the inestimable gift. Some of us received and actually swallowed small bits of sugar-candy over which the Saint had muttered a form of prayer, and (I am sorry to acknowledge it) had also breathed; after this, to gratify the holy man rather than myself, I handled two or three of his snakes, and even carried one to a neighbouring tent, grasping it strongly just below the head; although trained and accustomed to such scenes and experiments, it twined and struggled with motions that excited in me a very unpleasant sensation; yet I knew that this snake had lost the power of hurting.

But if *Shíráz* produced tarantulas, scorpions and snakes, it abounded also in *Bulbuls* (بلبل) or nightingales; hundreds of

(23) The *riál* (ریال) is a silver coin nearly equivalent to two French francs, or about twenty pence of our money. The current Persian coins are described in another part of this work.

them singing in the *Takht-i-Cajar* garden, not only all night but during the day. Concerning the nightingale I remarked on a former occasion, (Persian Miscellanies, p. 146), that the plaintive melody, the *love-laboured song*, of this sweet bird, is not by day suspended in the East as in our colder region; and that even some parts of Europe are equally favoured in this respect as Persia(24). I also quoted an English traveller of the seventeenth century, who, writing from *Shíráz* seems inspired by the climate, and adopting the flowery language of that country, says "The nightingal, sweet harbinger of light, is a constant chearer of these groves; charming with its warbling strains the heaviest soul into a pleasing exstasy." (Fryer's Trav. p. 248; 1698). But it is unnecessary to dwell on the charms of this "feathered voice" *(una voce pennata)* as it has been styled by the Italians; and I refer my English reader to the learned Newton's notes on

(24) A very interesting French poet of the twelfth century, thus begins one of his love-songs (Chanson XVIII).

"*La douce voix du rosignol sauvage,*
"*Qu'oi nuit & jor cointoier & tentir,*
"*Me radoucit mon cuer & rasouage, &c.*

"The sweet voice of the wild nightingale,
"Whom I hear by night and day amusing himself, and singing,
"Soothes the anguish of my heart, and consoles me, &c.

See that beautiful little work, the "Memoires Historiques sur Raoul de Coucy," published in Paris, 1781, and comprising one of the most romantick and affecting stories of the age of Chivalry. The melancholy conclusion of Raoul's amours with the fair but unfortunate Gabrielle de Vergi, is too well confirmed by authentick and historick proofs to allow us the consolation usual after perusing a narrative of fictitious calamity.

Paradise Lost, (Book VII), where he enumerates the various passages in which our immortal Milton has delighted to celebrate the praises of *the solemn nightingale*([25]).

During our encampment near the *Takht-i-Cajar* gardens, I have passed many nocturnal hours in listening to the nightingale's soft melody, interrupted sometimes by the howling of jackals, and not unfrequently by the tones of a *Kamáncheh*, *Sehtáreh*, and other musical instruments, or the voices of singing-boys, heard from the *Bábá Kúhi*, that favourite haunt of the dissolute Shírázians; a pleasant spot, already noticed, (See p. 60). The *Dílgushá* (p. 8), the *Jehán Nemá* (Vol. I. p. 318), and other neighbouring gardens abounded with nightingales; and it was said that, particularly in the *Dílgushá*, several of those birds had expired while contending with musicians, in the loudness or variety of their notes. This statement, though made by a respectable person who assured me that he had been present, I was inclined to think an exaggeration of the probable fact; which seemed such as Sir William Jones has recorded; a contest not mortal, but of extraordinary result([26]). It has,

([25]) I have here borrowed six or seven lines from my first work, the "Persian Miscellanies," p. 147.

([26]) "An intelligent Persian, who repeated his story again and again, and permitted me to write it down from his lips, declared that he had more than once been present when a celebrated lutanist, MI'RZA' MOHAMMED, surnamed BULBUL, was playing to a large company in a grove near *Shíráz*, where he distinctly saw the nightingales

indeed, been known, according to Pliny, that in vocal trials among nightingales, the vanquished bird terminated its song only with its life(27); and in one of the classick Strada's Academical Prolusions (Lib. II. Prolus. vi), we find a most beautiful Poem, which would tend to confirm the Persian report above mentioned; for it supposes the spirit of emulation so powerful in the nightingale, that, having strained her little throat vainly endeavouring to excel the musician, she breathes out her life in one last effort and drops upon the instrument which had contributed to her defeat(28). That nightingales have often been entranced through the effect of instrumental musick, will appear from Bourdelôt's "Histoire de la Musique," and an anecdote of Vauquelin

trying to vie with the musician; sometimes warbling on the trees, sometimes fluttering from branch to branch, as if they wished to approach the instrument whence the melody proceeded; and at length, dropping on the ground in a kind of extasy, from which they were soon raised, he assured me, by a change of the mode." Jones on the "Musical Modes of the Hindûs," (Asiat. Res. Vol. III. p. 57, Lond. 1801. octavo).

(27) "Certant inter se palamque animosa contentio est. Victa morte finit sæpe vitam, "spiritu prius deficiente quam cantu." Nat. Hist. (Lib. x. c. 29).

(28) "Illa autem quanquam vox dudum exercita fauces
"Asperat, impatiens vinci, simul advocat omnes
"Nequicquam vires; nam dum discrimina tanta
"Reddere tot fidium nativa et simplice tentat
"Voce, canaliculisque imitari grandia parvis
"Impar magnanimis ausis, imparque dolori
"Deficit; et vitam summo in certamine linquens,
"Victoris cadit in plectrum, par nacta sepulcrum.
"Usque adeo et tenues animos ferit æmula Virtus."

I quote the edition of Strada's Prolusions printed (not very accurately) by Ravesteyn, at Amsterdam, 1658, (page 331).

des Ivetaux; the death, also, of one in contending with a lutanist, has afforded subject for a quaint Epigram to an old English poet, Robert Vilvain. This epigram and the French authorities above mentioned, shall be quoted in the Appendix, where, likewise, might be adduced many passages on the same subject, from Persian writers. I now hasten from this digression to terminate the account of my second residence at *Shíráz*.

Our last visit to the Prince was on the sixth of July; he had considerately appointed a very early hour, that the Ambassador who was much indisposed might not suffer from the sun-beams. We were on horseback at six o'clock in the morning, and after the usual ceremonies and refreshments of coffee and *caleáns*, we took leave and returned to the camp before eight(29). Many of us, probably, had never been seen under a more ridiculous appearance than on this occasion; being all, except the Ambassador, dressed, according to the custom established at Persian courts, in those *khelaats* or rich dresses which the Prince had sent us. Some, for this momentary display, had thrown the robes of gold and silver brocade, loosely on their European clothes. Long shawls were crossed over the shoulders or twisted round English

(29) One of the attendants who at this levee presented the pipes and coffee, was a grandson or great grandson of the mighty NA'DIR SHA'H.

hats; and this incongruity of habiliment, with our aukward manner of riding in crimson *chákshúr* (چاقشور) or boots(30), with green high-heeled *kafsh* (کفش) or slippers, afforded evidently much entertainment to the women and boys who peeped at us from the flat roofs of houses, as we passed through the streets in slow and solemn procession.

July 9th. The preparations for our departure being now complete, MI'RZA ZEKI, the *Mehmándár*, sent on proper persons to collect provisions in different villages, and while the planets wore an aspect which he pronounced most auspicious, we commenced our journey towards *Isfahán*.

(30) Rather stockings of cloth (See p. 11). The Persians, in common use, wear socks not rising above the ankle, generally made of worsted in various patterns and sometimes of very gaudy colours; these socks are almost universally called *Júráb* (جوراب) but this is merely an alteration, after the Arabian manner, of *Gúráb* (گوراب) the original Persian name; we also find *Gúreb* (گورب) and *Júreb* (جورب) according to the MS. Dict. *Berhán Kattea*. I remarked one kind of those *Júráb* most particularly admired; of a fine soft texture, and in colour light brown and white; this sort was called *Shír u Sheker* (شیر و شکر) or "milk and sugar." *Chákshúr*, adove-mentioned, is a word borrowed from the language of *Turkestán*, which also furnishes *chakmah* (چکمه) the name given by modern Persians to leather boots, although they have their own proper term *múzeh* (موزه). Thus, as I have before observed (Vol. I. p. 448), the *Turki* word *camchi* (قمچي) "a whip," has nearly superseded the Persian *tàziánah* (تازیانه); and it may be added, that *arkhálek* (ارخالق) is the *Turki* name of that garment called in pure Persian *Ten-zíb* (تن زیب), as I learn from the MS. Dict. *Berhán Kattea*.

CHAPTER XI.

From Shíráz to the "Throne of Jemshíd,"

(Takht-i-Jemshíd تخت جمشيد*)*

OR

PERSEPOLIS.

July 10. WE left *Shíráz* by a delightful moon-light at one o'clock in the morning; proceeded through the *Tang i Allah-akber* (تنگ الله اكبر), and, having the river *Rukni* (رکني) or *Rukenábád* (رکناباد), for about three miles on the way side, we passed a ruined *Caravanserai* near the *Burge* (برج) or tower of *Khelaat púshán* (خلعت پوشان) before mentioned, one farsang from the city; at seven miles, our road was over the *Kutel-i-Bázhgáh* (کتل بازگاه or باجگاه *Bájgáh)*, the hilly country near a *ráhdári* (راهداري) or station of a guard, which is also, as its name *(Bájgáh)* signifies, the place where duties are levied on merchandise. A little farther we saw the

remains of an ancient edifice, which, according to tradition (and a Manuscript Journal of MI'RZA JA'N(1), was the *gumbed-i-sabz* (گنبد سبز) or "Green Villa," one of the seven summer-houses erected by king BAHRA'M GU'R (بهرام گور) and celebrated in various Romances; near this is the small stream called (اب باریک) *Ab-i-Bárík*(2).

Here a man and woman riding upon one horse, proved extremely troublesome to our party, by frequently crossing in the most narrow, or inconvenient passes; and the fellow having spoken very insolently to one of the English officers, a complaint was made by the Ambassador to MI'RZA ZEKI, the *Mehmándár*, who immediately ordered the culprit to alight, cudgelled him with his own hands for a considerable time, and then caused three or four *feráshes* to throw him on the ground and beat him, until the gentleman whom he had insulted begged that the punishment might be discontinued

We went on about seven miles and found our tents pitched near *Zarkán* (زرقان), or, as the name is now generally pro-

(1) Respecting this ingenious man of letters, (whom the Southern Persians invariably called MI'RZA JOON), it has been observed in p. 19, that he accompanied Captain Lockett, from *Shíráz* to *Isfahán*, and wrote an account of his journey, which through Captain Lockett's kindness is now in my possession. MI RZA JA'N, as I heard at *Shíráz* his native place, has composed a *Díván*, or Volume of sonnets, elegies, and other poems.

(2) *Bárík*, though used as a proper name, may be supposed, from its signification, (slender, subtle, &c.) a descriptive term, applicable to this inconsiderable stream.

nounced *Zargoon.* This town the Persians consider as being five farsangs distant from *Shíráz;* our camp was situate close to it, and the wheel or perambulator ascertained the journey of this day to have been seventeen miles and five furlongs; the road was mostly rugged and stony(3).

We were scarcely established in our tents when MI'RZA ZEKI sent the man who had received so severe a castigation, that the Ambassador might inflict on him further punishment if he should think proper; it is unnecessary to say that the fellow was instantly liberated.

Zarkán is a considerable village or town, comprising at the lowest computation three hundred houses, or, as some accounts exaggerate the number, five, and even eight hundred; these are built at the foot of a rocky mountain, which intercepts the air and renders the heats extremely oppressive. Fahrenheit's thermometer at noon was up to

(3) The distance, as proved by our measurement, sufficiently confirms EDRISI's statement; for in his Arabick Geography, (Clim. III, Sect. 6), he places *Zarkán* at eighteen miles from *Shíráz.* من شيراز الي الزرقان ثمانيه عشر ميلا HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI calculating the stages between *Shíráz* and *Aberkúh,* says "From *Shíráz* to the village of *Zargán,* five farsangs; from that to the *Bandamír,* "erected on the river *Kur,* three farsangs," &c.

از شيراز تا ده زركان پنج فرسنک و از و تا بندامير كه بر اب كر ساخته اند سه فرسنک MS. *Nozhat al Colúb.* Geogr. Sect. (Chap. of Roads).

Zargán is probably the true Persian name, though now generally written (as by EDRISI) *Zarkán.* I find another place called *Zargán* (زركان) or, according to the Southern pronunciation, *Zargoon;* but it is in the province of *Shebángárah.* (MS. *Nozhat al Colúb,* Geogr. ch. 13).

106; and at three o'clock above 109 in the shade. There are some manufactories of linen here, but *Zarkán* is chiefly remarkable for mules, of which most useful creatures it can furnish, as I have heard, above two thousand. The *pashehs* (پشه) or moskitoes were innumerable in this place.

At midnight we set out and after travelling five or six miles crossed the large and deep river *Bandamír*, (already mentioned, pp. 178, 181, &c.) passing it not without some difficulty and danger on the high bridge, called *Pul-i-Khán* (پل خان), in which was a considerable chasm not by any means recent; this I had remarked two months before when returning to *Shíráz*; and, if not enlarged, it probably remains at present in the same state; for, according to an observation already made, no work of publick utility is ever repaired by the people of this country. The road, as elsewhere in Persia, is merely a path beaten by the feet of travellers, of horses, mules and camels, and not made expressly; it was here, however, broad and good, and led us to our tents in the plain of *Mardasht*, (or *Marvdasht* مرودشت for so the most accurate manuscripts exhibit this name), where we arrived on the eleventh of July, at half past four o'clock in the morning; after a journey (from *Zarkán)* of sixteen miles and two furlongs. Our camp was about half a mile from the *Takht-i-Jemshíd*, "The Throne of Jemshíd," or principal ruins of Persepolis.

Here we continued until the morning of the fourteenth; but if those three days and the two which I passed at the same place in May, had been prolonged to as many weeks or even months, this space of time would scarcely have sufficed for such a survey and delineation of those stupendous monuments, as in my opinion they deserve. Under this description I comprehend the many extraordinary vestiges of antiquity still visible among the adjacent rocks and mountains, where others, most probably, remain as yet undiscovered; and although the remainder of this chapter shall be devoted to an account of those interesting objects, yet like all former travellers I must leave much undone.

To readers not conversant with Eastern History and Geography, it may be acknowledged that in bestowing the title of "Persepolis" on those ruins at present, generally called the *Throne of Jemshíd*, I expose myself to an objection of such critical antiquaries as should require positive proofs to justify my application of that name. They may ask whether on this subject any thing more than conjecture (however plausible) has yet been offered, or whether a traveller exploring those remains of oriental magnificence can feel that he treads the classick soil of Persepolis, with such perfect conviction, such delightful certainty, as accompanies him amidst the metropolitan monuments of Italy and of Greece.

It is true, that many centuries have elapsed, (probably from fourteen to fifteen hundred years) since, according to such memorials as we possess, the Greek name of Persepolis has been applied to any particular spot with an appearance of geographical precision(4); and I know not whether, during this long interval of time, any European has been so fortunate as to satisfy himself or others, by indisputable evidence, that he had actually ascertained the site of Persia's ancient capital, or of that royal palace, which, as some authors relate, Alexander destroyed in a moment of inebriation(5). Notwithstanding this deficiency of positive proof, it seems to be, with very few exceptions, the opinion of our most ingenious travellers, antiquaries and geographers, that, under different Persian names, (hereafter enumerated), the ruins now commonly styled *Takht i Jemshíd*, or "Jem-

(4) See "*Persepolis, Commercium Persarum*" in the Theodosian (or Peutingerian) Table, Segm. XII, according to Scheyb's edition (Vindob. 1753); or Segm. VIII, as divided in the Theatr. Geogr. Veteris, of Bertius. A little before the construction of this curious itinerary map, Ammianus Marcellinus (who died about the year of Christ, 380), notices Persepolis as still existing and illustrious in his time among the chief inland cities of ancient *Persis*, its sea coast not exhibiting any remarkable town. "Post hæc confinia, littoribus proxima Persis habitatur antiqua.—Oppida vero me- "diterranea sunt ampliora, incertum enim qua ratione per oras maritimas nihil condi- "derunt insigne; inter quæ Persepolis est clara," &c. Amm. Marcel. Lib. XXIII, (Ed. Rob. Stephani, Par. 1544, p. 296).

(5) Diodorus Siculus, Lib. XVII. Strabo, Lib. XV. Quint. Curtius, Lib. V. c. 7. Plutarch, (in his life of Alexander). Clitarchus, as quoted by Athenæus, Lib. XIII, &c. The burning, (without the inebriation), is mentioned also by Arrian, Lib. III. c. 18, &c.

shíd's Throne," are vestiges of some great edifice which once adorned the royal city of Persepolis.

I had adopted this notion from my earliest acquaintance with Oriental languages and antiquities(6); yet should not have retained it one instant, notwithstanding the force of prepossession, had any discovery made during my subsequent studies or travels seemed capable of proving it erroneous. But my opinion continues the same; confirmed, indeed by more mature consideration of the arguments, both favourable and hostile; by the result of much laborious research among Eastern manuscripts; by inquiry into local traditions, and by personal examination of the ruins, and of the neighbouring country(7).

(6) See the "Persian Miscellanies (Pref. p. xv. pp. 93, 114, &c.); also, "*Remarks "on the Antiquities of Persepolis, Istakhr, or Chehelminár*," published in the "Oriental Collections," (Vol. I. p. 167). This Essay was written while sanguine youth and an enthusiastick admiration of FIRDAUSI's poetry, encouraged me to hope that the *Sháh Námah* would furnish a clue to the labyrinth of Persepolitan mysteries. Yet from some mistrust which even then could not be wholly repressed, (and which time has not removed), I thought it adviseable to screen myself from critical severity, so formidable a bugbear to young authors, behind the shield of a fictitious signature.

(7) From the manner in which my learned and venerable friend the late Dr. Vincent, (Voyage of Nearchus, p. 487, sec. edit. 1807), has noticed a passage in the Preface to EBN HAUKAL, (p xxvi), it would almost appear that I had doubted whether the ruins might not be vestiges of some edifice constructed by the Arsacidans. But an inspection of the passage itself will show that for such an opinion, the celebrated orientalist, whose name and work I there quoted at full length, ("*Tychsen, de cuneatis Inscriptionibus Persepolitanis; Rostoch.* 1798"), was alone responsible. On the subject of Dr Vincent's note it must in justice to him be observed, that the mention of Mithra and of Sapor Zulectaf's architectural fame is not derived, as the reference

What space the city of Persepolis may have occupied when in its ancient glory, we can at this time, scarcely expect to ascertain. The account of its extent given by Oriental writers (unless they confound a whole territory with the city), must be supposed a gross exaggeration. It is not improbable that many villages scattered on the plain of *Marvdasht*, cover spots on which stood some houses of that celebrated capital. But the principal remains of edifices at present visible, are all found, though in different clusters, on one platform or terrace which elevates them above the plain; this united mass of ruins, I shall, like most modern Persians, distinguish by the name of *Takht*, signifying a throne or seat, and often used to denote a royal palace(8).

(misplaced probably by accident) would indicate, from the Preface to EBN HAUḲAL, which does not, in any page, contain an allusion to that solar Divinity, or to the Sassanian Monarch SHA'PU'R.

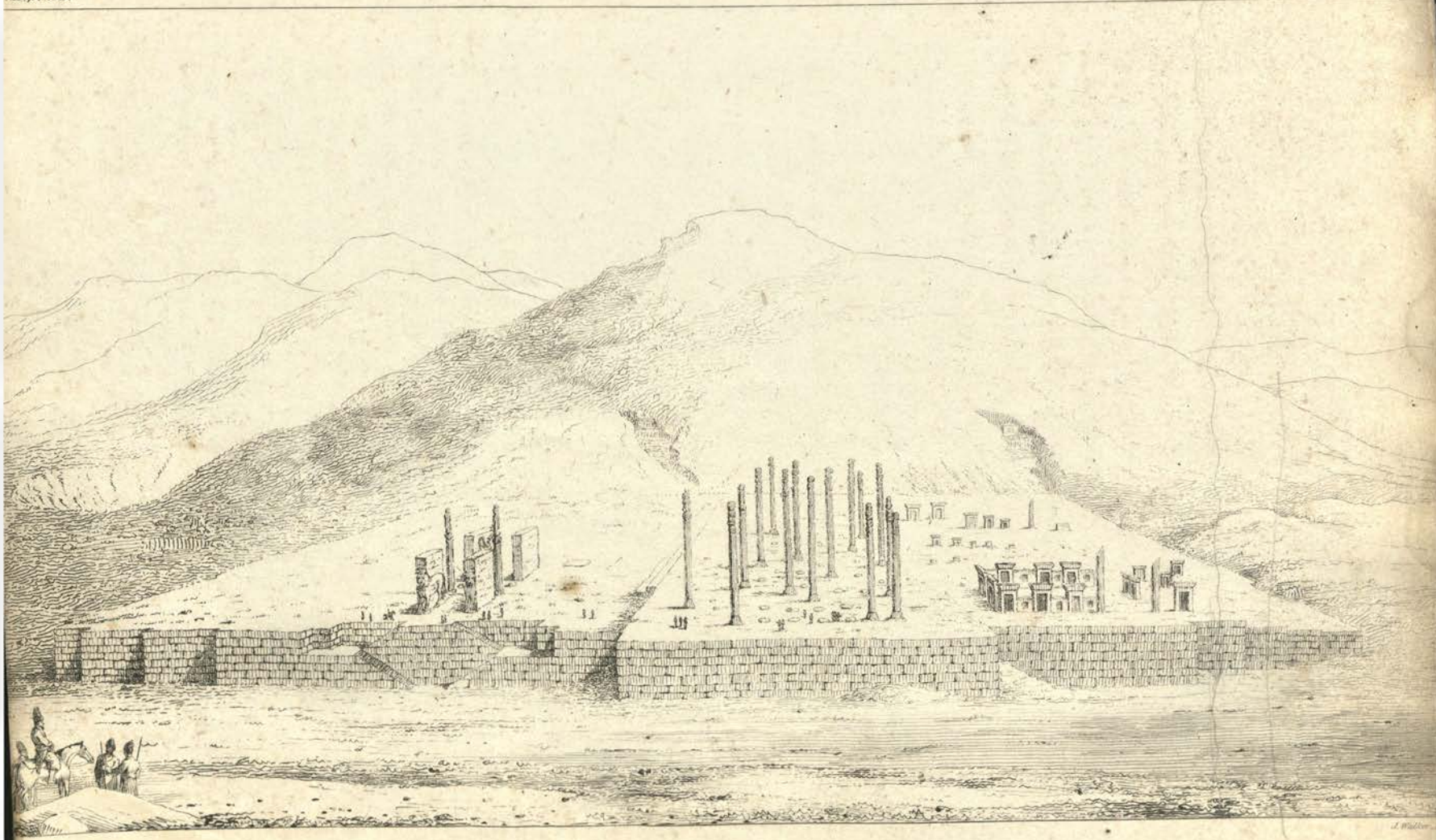
(8) Thus the *Takht i Cajar* near *Shíráz*, (p. 59). Many stones or rocks in their natural state, and small fragments of old masonry, (generally square and level), are dignified with the title of *Takht*; some illustrious personage, according to tradition, having sat or reposed on them; thus the *Takht i Rustam* near *Isfahán*, one so called which I saw in *Mázanderân*, and others. The same title is given to certain platforms or terraces of more considerable dimensions, commonly projecting from the sides of mountains, and supposed to be the spots on which once stood the palaces of mighty kings. Thus, besides our Persepolitan *Takht i Jemshíd*, we find the *Takht i Suleimán* near *Murghâb* described in my next chapter. The Persian MS. *Ajáieb al Gheráieb* notices a remarkable structure of this kind; I shall here quote the account, as it may assist travellers in their researches; observing that the *gaz* is equal to forty inches;

نزدیک همدان موضعی است اهل تواریخ گفته اند که قباد ابن فیروز انجا تختی بنا
کرده صد گز درصد گز ارتفاع ان بیست گز از سنگ تراشیده و ان سنگهای را بمیخها
اهنین بر یکدیگر ترکیب کرده اند بروجهی که مفصل ان مرمی نمیشود

Of such objects the most laboured verbal description would scarcely convey so true a notion as the slightest delineation made with an accurate pencil. That Chardin, Kæmpfer, and Le Brun, had not unfaithfully represented this noble monument of antiquity, was evident to me on the first view; for its general appearance almost perfectly corresponded to the idea which I had long before conceived from their engravings(⁹).

"Near *Hamadán* is a certain place, wherein, as historians relate, COBA'D the son of "FI'RU'Z erected a *Takht*, in dimensions one hundred *gaz* by one hundred, and in "height twenty *gaz*. It was of hewn stone, each piece being connected with another "in such a manner by iron nails or cramps, that the juncture could not be discerned." COBAD began to reign about the year of Christ, 486.

(⁹) See the View in Chardin's "Voyages en Perse," &c. p. 51, Tome IX. (Rouen 1723); and in Kæmpfer's "Amœnitates Exoticæ," the plate entitled "*Frontispicium Palatii Persepolitani*," (p. 325). See also the "*Premiere Vue de Persepolis*," in the "Voyages de Corneille Le Brun," p. 270, (Amst. 1718, folio). Herbert de Jager's large and handsome View of the "*Ruinen van't Paleis van Darius*," in Valentyn's Dutch collection of Voyages, (Vol. V. p. 220), gives a good general idea of the ruins, but misrepresents several of the columns, most of the portals and pilasters on the right, and the royal tombs in the mountain. The same description may be applied to Daulier Deslandes's View of "*Tchelminár, ou les Ruines de l'ancienne "Persepolis*," in his "Beautez de la Perse, 56 (Paris, 1673). Witsen's View of "*Tshihilminár* originally published in the "Philosophical Transactions," (Vol. XVIII), and now before me in a very rude plate of the "Miscellanea Curiosa," (Vol. III. p 237. Lond. octavo, 1708), offers a more correct representation of "*Jemshíd's* Throne," than some of the larger and handsomer engravings. I need scarcely refer to the strange view, an absurd production of fancy, given by that lying traveller Struys, if ever such a person actually visited Persepolis. Another view has been already described as well worthy of notice, though imagination seems throughout to have supplied the deficiencies of inaccurate drawing, or imperfect recollection. I allude to the plate etched by Hollar in 1663; and entitled "*Ruines of Persæpolis*;" it ornaments the third edition of Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels, printed in 1665, not 1666 as a typographical errour in my First Volume, (Pref. p. xxiii), described it. The excellent



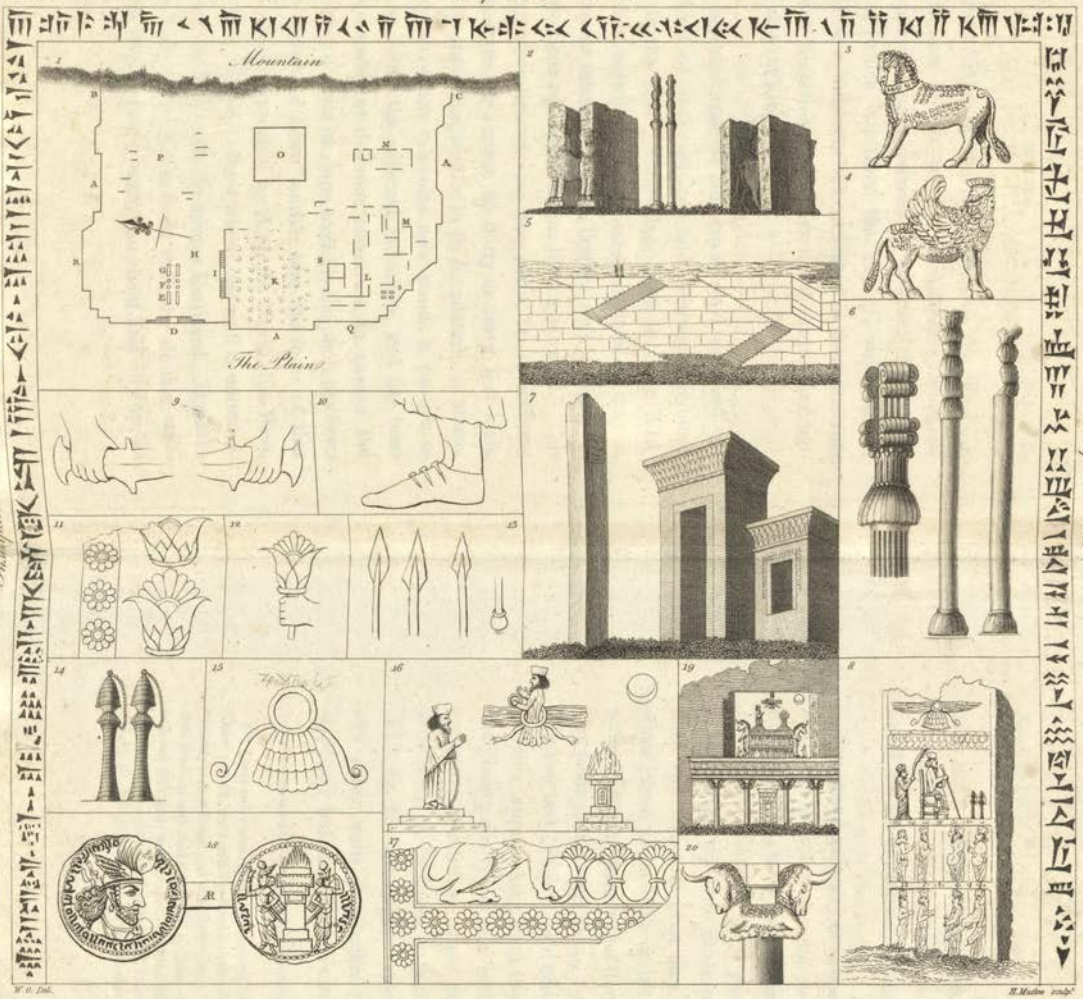
Takht i Jemshid at Persepolis.

Should the reader of this volume not have an immediate opportunity of consulting the works published by those ingenioustravellers, he may be enabled to form an idea of the *Takht* sufficiently accurate from the sketch (See Plate XL), which I made, as subsequent comparison induces me to think, nearly between the spots whence Kæmpfer and Le Brun regarded the ruins while delineating them as in their engravings above-quoted. Perhaps from no other spot could the front of those ruins be seen to greater advantage, for most of their important features are comprehended within this view. The wall composed of immense hewn stones admirably joined, terminating and supporting the terrace in its projection on the plain; the magnificent marble staircase ascending to the platform by a double flight of steps; the grand gate-way; the stupendous hall of

Niebuhr's "*Vue des ruines de Persepolis,*" (Voyage, &c. pl. XIX. p. 99, Tome II. Amst. 1780), does not represent the *Takht* as seen in front, but from the mountain behind. The other views mentioned in this note were all taken from the plain. I might here notice that which Gemelli Careri has inserted in his *Giro del Mondo*; but it is merely a copy from the view taken by Daulier Deslandes, above quoted; and respecting the authenticity of Careri's travels many doubts are justly entertained; indeed Sir James Porter decidedly pronounced them fictitious, (Observ. on the Turks, Vol. I. p. 1.); but as he was wrong in passing the same sentence on Jean Thevenôt's (confounding him with his uncle Melchisedec, as I before remarked, Vol. I. p. 168); so, it is possible, he may have condemned unjustly the Neapolitan Doctor, in whose favour, we must confess, no personal acquaintances nor contemporary travellers appear; while Chardin, Daulier Deslandes, and others, incidentally mention that they had met Thevenôt in the East, and most of them bear witness to his ingenuity and merits. Whether Gemelli Careri visited Persia and China or not, his Mexican travels, at least, have found able defenders inthe Abbate Clavigero (Storia Antica del Messico, I. p. 24), and the celebrated Humboldt, (Researches in America, Engl. trans. I. 107; II, 58, &c).

columns; and, farther on the right, towards the Southern extremity, various groups of marble pilasters, window-frames, portals and other remains of edifices. Behind all these objects, (which constitute the *Takht*), we behold in this point of view, two recesses excavated in the mountain; these without hesitation may be styled the sepulchral monuments of ancient kings.

From an elevated spot on this mountain I sketched the ruins in a kind of *bird's-eye view*; and afterwards reduced that sketch to the little ground-plan, given in Plate XLI (fig. 1); which, notwithstanding numerous defects, may at present serve for reference. The Terrace-wall is expressed with its projections and indentations by the letter A. This wall, rising perpendicularly on the plain, is, in different places, from fifteen or sixteen to thirty or forty feet high, according to natural inequalities in its foundation, or above, in that space on which the ruins now stand; a portion of rock such as forms the adjacent mountain, and has been rendered horizontal at different elevations to answer the architect's design; while its slope towards the plain has been faced with masses of hewn marble into the form of that noble wall, which is marked by A on the North, the West, and the South. B and C show where this wall is united to the mountain which bounds the terrace Eastward. D marks that conspicuous object in the front wall, the double staircase with its two landing-places, one about half way up, on



W. O. Del. H. Mutlow sculp.

Illustrations of Persepolitan Antiquities.

See p. 531.

each side; it is usual (and easy) for several horsemen to ascend these stairs abreast; so long, so deep or wide, and so low are the marble steps, in number above two hundred(10).

The grand gate-way or entrance, E, F, G, is seen immediately over the staircase in the view, Pl. XL. Of this remarkable gate-way, the principal remaining parts are four walls, E, G, which Chardin calls pilasters, and two columns, F; it is evident that two other columns had contributed to form this structure; but they were prostrate on the earth when Pietro Della Valle visited Persepolis in 1621. These walls or pilasters seem about thirty feet high, and twenty deep; the passage between them, twelve or fourteen feet wide. The two first (E) present themselves in parallel lines to the traveller approaching from the great stair-case; the end of each being nearly covered with the sculptured front of a monstrous quadruped, while the wall, inside, exhibits the remainder of its figure, in a manner which the sketch (Pl. XLI, fig. 2,) will explain more clearly than words. The two other walls or pilasters (G) resemble these in most respects; but their monsters look towards the mountain.

(10) I was twice interrupted in endeavouring to ascertain the exact number; Herbert (Trav. p. 147. third edit.) reckons (on one side) "ninety five steps; every step being "twenty inches broad and three inches high." Pietro della Valle, about 101; Chardin 103; Niebuhr and Francklin 104; Le Brun on one side 101, on the other 103; but he believed that some were concealed by the earth below; Kæmpfer (p. 334) extends the number on each side to 113; and Fryer (p. 253) strangely says, "120 stairs of "black marble on each side, till they united to 40 more," &c.

Near this gate-way is a cistern or trough, (marked H); seventeen or eighteen feet long, about thirteen wide, and three deep; it seems of one stone. The letter I indicates the wall supporting a platform elevated some feet above the level of that ground, on which the gate-way stands. K, the Hall of Columns, occupying the platform to which different staircases ascend by twenty or thirty very low steps; these staircases exhibit a variety of sculptured figures. Only fifteen columns now remain standing on the platform K, which in former times, I am inclined to believe, contained at least eighty-four([11]). Some appear sixty feet high, and are perhaps more, the capitals and pedestals being included; but others from the decay or loss of their capitals, do not seem, by a few feet, equal in height. Yet we can scarcely suppose that such a difference originally existed among columns

([11]) The Spanish Ambassador Don Garcias de Silva Figueroa, in 1619, calculated that there had been 6 rows, in each row 8 columns. Sir T. Herbert would allow in all 100 pillars, "when the place was in perfection." Thevenôt 108. Chardin 12 rows of 10 columns each. Kæmpfer 72 columns. Le Brun 72. Niebuhr's ground plan marks 71, but symmetry requires more; Francklin estimates the original number at 54; and Morier 72. When Pietro della Valle (in 1621) visited these ruins, 25 columns were standing. Herbert, in 1627, and Mandelslo in 1638, saw but 19; Fryer in 1677, 18. Kæmpfer in 1696 and Niebuhr in 1765, 17; Francklin in 1787 counted only 15, and these still remained on their pedestals in 1811. It must be observed that this note does not include the columns at F, but hitherto refers merely to those on the platform K. One column, out of many that stood on the plain, not far from the terrace and opposite its Southern angle, was pulled down but a few years before our visit, by some *Iliáts*, for the sake of whatever lead or iron had been used, (as they supposed) in the joinings of its pieces. How far their expectations were gratified, I could not learn from the Persian who related this circumstance. The column appears in different Views given by Kæmpfer, Le Brun, Niebuhr, and others.

placed in regular rows; and that they had been so arranged is manifest from the proportionate intervals between the bases of those which have fallen, and of the few which still remain.

We now pass through the Hall of Columns (which it will soon be necessary to revisit), and arrive, having ascended five or six feet, at the edifice L. Of this the outer space or chamber facing Southward, has been delineated by Niebuhr, (Voyages, &c. Tome II. tab. xxvi. Amst. 1780), and by Le Brun, (Voyages, &c. Pl. 128, Amst. 1718). The inner part seems to have comprised three chambers; their walls being almost wholly the solid and polished marble frames of numerous portals and windows; exhibiting various sculptured figures, human and monstrous, besides many inscriptions in different languages, ancient and modern; for the window-frames are bordered with arrow-headed characters in the manner which Kæmpfer has represented, (Amœn. Exot. p. 347); and on the marbles of this edifice we find those Arabick and Persian inscriptions copied by Niebuhr, (Tome II. tab. xxvii); among which the *Cúfick*([12]) have been so ingeniously explained by De Sacy, (Mem. sur div. Antiq. de la Perse, Pl. II. p. 137); we also find here two *Pahlavi* inscriptions, which, though slightly cut are sufficiently conspicuous;

([12]) Flower, in the "Philosophical Transactions," (Vol. XVII); and Chardin, (Tome IX, p. 107), had already copied the *Cúfick* inscriptions; but Niebuhr has far exceeded both in accuracy.

yet no former traveller has, perhaps, taken the trouble of copying them. In Plate XLII, both are given; one containing twelve lines, the other eleven(13).

Farther on towards the South are remains of a considerable edifice, marked M. To ascertain the plan of its various parts would be a difficult task, so much has been removed, injured by early *Muselmán* bigots, and concealed under accumulated sand. But from the vestiges of stair-cases, colonnades, pilasters, portals, window-frames, sculptured figures and inscriptions, it might be thought that among the Persepolitan structures few exceeded this in beauty or magnitude.

At N are some window frames, doorways with sculptured figures, and other remains. But the square marked O appears to have been one of the most extensive and important edifices. In each of its four faces are two door-ways, and many window-frames all of marble like those belonging to the other structures; and whether the eight door-ways gave entrance to one vast chamber only, or whether this square was partitioned into different chambers, it is not, perhaps, now possible to determine; Kæmpfer, however, conjectured, that some fragments visible on the inner area, were remains

(13) While copying these inscriptions from the marble, I reduced each letter to about half of the original size. They record the names and titles (as shall be more particularly noticed in the appendix) of SHA'HPU'HR, AUHORMIZDI, and VARAHRA'N, kings of the Sassanian Dynasty, who reigned in the third century. Among all the ruins at *Tákht i Jemshíd*, I did not perceive any other specimen of *Pahlavi* writing.

B

Pahlavi Inscriptions, at the Takht i Jemshíd.

of columns which had supported a roof or ceiling; yet Fryer who was here ten years sooner, does not appear to have discovered them(14); on the door-frames are sculptured various extraordinary devices; to these a reference shall be made hereafter.

From many scattered vestiges still existing, it is probable that the terrace served as a foundation for other edifices besides those which the ground-plan particularly indicates; and which together form what modern Persians call the *Takht*, or Throne of *Jemshíd*, a stupendous monument of antiquity, also denominated *Chel minár* (چل منار) or *Chehil Mináreh* (چهل مناره), the "Forty Pillars or Spires;" and described under different names, an account of which, given in a subsequent section of this chapter, will lead to an historical enquiry respecting the edifice and its supposed founders.

Of the whole terrace, according to Niebuhr, (Tome II. tab. xviii), we may estimate the extent from North to South, in round numbers, at 280 geometrical paces; and from the mountain Eastward to the farthest projection on the plain,

(14) Kæmpfer says, "area—ubique plana et inanis, nisi quòd hinc inde ex solo "promineant striatæ quædam particulæ columnarum, quibus lacunar suffultum "fuisse conjicimus." (Amœn. Exot. p. 343). In Dr. Fryer's Travels, (p. 252), we read that, "the roof seems never to have had any intervening pillars; and whether "the beams were of cedar, it is not so fortunate as to have a voucher of its own "nation."

Westward, about 200. Le Brun (p. 261), and Francklin (p. 92, Calcutta edit.) agree in assigning to the *façade* or front, 600 steps from North to South, and 390 from East to West. Francklin observes that the whole of the palace comprehends a space of 1400 square yards. Each face of the great edifice marked O is equal in length to 46 geometrical paces, as we learn from Niebuhr's plan, or to 85 of Kæmpfer's steps; (See his Amœnit. Exot. p. 343). My own calculations hastily made from stepping across the terrace in different directions, do not authorize me to correct the statements of those travellers above mentioned; of Chardin and others; nor can I pretend to more accuracy in minute details than they have evinced. From the result of some comparisons, it appears that perfect confidence may be placed in such measurements as Niebuhr seems to have made by means of proper instruments. But when travellers judge of height, length, number, or relative proportions by the eye alone, or form conjectures from superficial examination, scarcely two will be found to coincide in every particular(15)

(15) Thus respecting the columns, (p. 236), and the steps, (p. 235). The works of different travellers describing these ruins furnish many other instances of extraordinary variation. But this discordance is not peculiar to those who have written accounts of Persepolis. We find that concerning the same visible and tangible objects, two, three, and even four travellers in other countries have disagreed, all men of considerable ingenuity, and none intending to deceive. On this subject I have quoted in the first Volume, (Pref. p. xxii), Dr. Johnson, and Dr. Clarke, noticing the diversity of statements given by Wheler, Spon, and Muratori.

II. Having conducted my reader through the general plan (See Pl. XLI. fig. 1), I shall observe that all its parts, from the enormous masses of stone which constitute the terrace-wall, the stairs, and the columns, to the smallest pieces whether plain or sculptured with figures or inscriptions, have been, in my opinion, derived either from quarries in the adjacent mountain, or from the very rock, the foot of that mountain, which it was necessary to level in forming the terrace. Indeed, as Chardin remarks, it is difficult to conceive how so many squared-masses of the hardest stone, from thirty to fifty two (French) feet, and even more, in length, and from four to six feet high, could have been raised and placed in the wall, with such admirable precision, that, adds he, the junctures are scarcely discernible, after a lapse of about four thousand years(16). Yet he doubted or rather denied that they had all been procured on the spot; for, describing structures of the same stone, which in a polished state appears blackish, he declares that it must have been brought from some other place, as the contiguous rock is of a whitish grey marble; whence he infers that the ancient Persians understood better than our modern artists, not only how to cut but to transport such surprising masses of hard stone. (Tome IX. p. 80).

(16) "Que depuis quatre mille ans, ou environ, qu'elles sont là, on n'en sauroit "presque encore reconnoître les jointures." Voyage, &c. Tome IX. p. 52, (Rouen, 1723).

But Niebuhr positively affirms that the place itself furnished materials for the walls, and all the other monuments of antiquity; and here every thing is marble; of the same kind, says he, as that which constitutes not only the eminence whereon the ruins stand, but the whole neighbouring mountain; grey, very hard, and susceptible of a fine polish, which inclines it to black. Thus the architect enjoyed a great advantage in finding on the spot whatever stones were necessary for the work which he had undertaken(17).

From the result of chymical experiments made, at my request, by an ingenious mineralogist, on several fragments of the Persepolitan marble, it clearly appears that all this is limestone, though some of those fragments (which I collected in various parts of the *Takht*), are grey or brownish, not altogether without clouds lighter and darker; while others are of a deep, uniform, slate colour, or a blackish blue. In certain parts of the ruins this limestone has become externally almost white or cream-coloured, and in many places (particularly among the window-frames at L), it has been rendered black through a high degree of polish. Near the North-Western wall some masses of rock which the stone-

(17) "Toutes les murailles et toutes les antiquités que l'on trouve icy, sont faites "d'un marbre gris et tres dur, qui se laisse parfaitement bien polir, et devient alors "plus noir; et c'est de cette même espéce de pierre qu'est formé non seulement la "colline, mais encore toute la montagne *Rachmed*; c'étoit donc un grand avantage "pour l'entrepreneur, que de trouver toutes les pierres sur la place même." Nieb. Voyage, Tome II. p. 100, (Amst. 1780).

cutters had partly prepared for architectural uses, sufficienylt prove that the spot itself furnished materials for the building([18]). It is probable that no chisel has been applied to those masses since the time of Darius, when Alexander's invasion may have interrupted some intended addition to the edifice. Of the succeeding Persian kings, if any undertook to repair, to enlarge, or embellish the *Takht*, I should suppose him the Artaxerxes, or Artaxares of our writers, called in the *Pahlavi* dialect of his own time ARTAHSHETR, (𐬀𐬭𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬱𐬉𐬥) and in modern language ARDASHI'R (اردشير); for the eventful history of this hero, who in our third century overthrew the Arsacidan and founded the Sassanian dynasty, involves frequent mention of *Istakhr;* a neighbouring rock or mountain with a castle and surrounding city of which the name was extended over many territories, comprehending that which is now called the Plain of *Marvdasht.* To the history of ARDASHI'R a more particular reference must be made hereafter; meanwhile I may declare that the only objects unequivocally *Sassanian* that presented themselves to my notice throughout the whole *Takht,* were the two *Pahlavi* inscriptions already mentioned, (p. 238), and engraved in Plate XLII.

([18]) Niebuhr would infer from those half-detached masses of stone that the building had never been completed at the time of its destruction, (Tome II. p. 100). Kæmpfer seems to think that they had been taken from the northern wall, for the purpose of removal, but that their vast bulk rendered a reduction necessary; hence some appear half divided. To bring from any other place the stones which originally formed *Jemshid's Throne,* would have been, he declares, a labour too great for human powers; "qui sanè mortalium viribus fuisset superior." Amœn. Exot. 330.

III. Recurring to the ground-plan of *Jemshíd's Throne*, (Pl. XLI), I shall here offer some observations suggested by actual inspection of its most conspicuous or interesting parts. And first, concerning the great double staircase D, of which fig. 5 shows the construction(19). This remarkable feature (already mentioned, pp. 233, 234), is not placed in the middle of the front wall, but near the northern end; which situation induced me, for one moment, to suspect that a corresponding staircase had been originally designed; this should, symmetrically, have occupied that space marked Q. Thus in many modern palaces of Persia, we find stairs contrived at each side of the *Díván Kháneh* (دیوان خانه), or principal chamber; which is generally open-fronted, its roof being supported on columns. (See the palace represented in Plate XXVI; and the house of AMI'N AD'DOULAH (امین الدوله) in a future plate illustrating the account of our residence at *Tehrán*.

In conformity with its appearance, I have, like others, denominated the structure E, F, G, a gateway. Had this

(19) Although the black marble steps (in number above two hundred, See p. 235), are nearly twenty seven feet long, yet the height of each does not much exceed three inches. I have often been one of six or seven horsemen ascending them abreast; Herbert (p. 147) "saw a dozen Persians ride up abreast without crowding." Several steps have been formed out of one stone, in some instances so many as sixteen or seventeen. Every visitor will probably think like Chardin (IX, 53) that from the ingenuity with which such enormous pieces were united, the whole must have originally appeared as if hewn from the solid rock. Niebuhr (II, 101) pronounces it incontestably the most beautiful and most durable staircase that ever was constructed.

and the staircase been placed in the middle of the front wall (at A) or led directly from the North Western side at R, to the great Hall of Columns (K), we may believe that they would have produced a much finer effect than their actual situation allows; for those who, having ascended the staircase, proceed immediately through the gateway, must leave on their right, the Hall of Columns, with its sculptured frontispiece, and if they advance in a straight line towards the mountain, will find but few remains of building scattered on the intermediate space marked P. Yet so magnificent a staircase and gateway should have led directly to the most important and splendid edifice of the whole *Takht.* That such may have once stood between the mountain and the gateway is possible; but in this wonderful scene of ruins, every part furnishes abundant subject for doubt and conjecture. Some have believed that the work was never universally finished; others that its various structures were erected at different times, according to circumstances which caused deviations from the primary design; thus Niebuhr (Tome II. pp. 101, 116), regarded one of the Southern edifices, (in my plan marked M), as apparently more ancient than the others by many centuries; while those who imagine, with me, that objects of such beauty and magnitude as the staircase and gateway must have been comprehended in the original plan, would naturally expect to find the oldest structure in the line of their direction, the Northern quarter near P.

Reserving for the Appendix some conjectures on this subject I shall here observe that it is not merely the situation of E, F, G, which claims our attention; but also its construction. The lofty walls or pilasters of this gateway, and the sculptured figures that ornament it, have been already noticed, (p. 235); and their forms will be understood on a reference to Pl. XLI, wherein fig. 2, shows the four walls and two columns remaining of the four that contributed to this structure; and fig. 3 and 4, represent those extraordinary quadrupeds that seem to guard it at each end; they are in length eighteen or twenty feet, and present to the spectator their fronts equal in thickness to the wall itself,(above five feet). So much injured have been the heads of those two which look towards the plain, (fig. 3), that it would be difficult to describe them by any one appropriate denomination. Those two that face the mountain (fig. 4) are winged monsters, which had, as we may discern even in their mutilated state, human heads with crowns, and curled beards and hair. The human heads, in M. D'Hancarville's opinion, had been attached to the bodies of winged bulls; from which circumstance he regarded the two monsters as symbolical figures of the earliest ages, and found in marble, only at the Temple of Persepolis. Indeed that learned Antiquary, always ingenious though sometimes fanciful, thinks them anterior to any Grecian statue; and sculptured at least six hundred years before Inachus, the most ancient king of Greece. He also believes that an agate seal, exhibiting the winged bull

with a human head, is the oldest known engraving; executed at the very time when JEMSHI'D's family governed the Persians, (above three thousand years before Christ, according to Bailly's astronomical calculation); and that the engravings of all other nations are modern in comparison(20). This agate was brought from *Basrah* by Niebuhr, in whose Travels (Tome II. Pl. XX) it is represented. A winged and human-headed bull, on a Carnelion which I procured at *Shirâz*, has been given in Plate XXI, fig. 30, (Vol. I).

The bodies of all the quadrupeds at E, G, are thickly studded with spiral knobs which some suppose the bosses of armour; many had been broken off; to me they appear only curls of hair; the reader may see two of the real size in Le Brun's 156th Plate. I found three near one of the beasts(21).

(20) Having observed that the bull with a human head appears on many Greek medals, gems, and middle-sized bronzes, though not on marbles, M. D'Hancarville subjoins, "Le temple de Persepolis est le seul endroit ou il s'en trouve encore une "(en marbre). Elle constate la prodigieuse antiquité de cette figure symbolique; car "celle ci doit être anterieure à toutes les statues les plus anciennes qu'on fit en Grèce, "puisqu' elle dut être faite au moins 600 ans avant le regne d'Inachus, le plus ancien "de ses Rois." (Recherches sur les Antiquités de la Perse" (p. 137,) at the end of "Rech. sur les Arts de la Grèce"). Of the agate seal he says (p. 134) "La pierre "de M. Niebuhr me paroit être des tems mêmes de la famille de Djemschid. C'est a "mon gré la plus ancienne gravure. Toutes celles des autres nations sont nouvelles "en comparaison."

(21) Travellers seem much embarrassed in finding similitudes and names for these figures, which have, says Della Valle (Lett. 15, Ottob. 21, 1621), the body of a *horse*, the head of a *man*, and wings like a *griffin's*; "corpo di cavallo; testa di huomo; "ali a guisa di Grifoni." To Herbert (p. 147) they seemed "not such beasts as are in "nature, but rather as issue from the poet's or fictor's brains." One he thinks like

Although the front of each quadruped projects in bold relief as a statue, yet the remainder of its figure appears only on the inner face of each wall or pilaster; those faces which are outside or opposite to the Hall of Columns and to the plain Northward, being without any sculptures.

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an *elephant*, (p. 148); the second "somewhat like his opposite, a *Rhinoceros*; the third "is like unto a *Pegasus*, or rather that volant *Gryffin* Ariosto describes in his Orlando "Furioso; but the fourth is so disfigured that it cannot be described. Howbeit "herein these beasts differ, for two of them have visages with beards and long hair, "like *men*," &c. Mandelslo (in the English translation of his Travels by Davies, Lond. 1662, p. 5), describes the two first as being "*horses* with harness and saddles "very antique;" of the others, "the hinder part hath some resemblance to the body of a "*horse*; but the head which is crowned, resembles that of a *lion*, and both have wings "of each side." Deslandes (Beaut. de la Perse, p. 57), declares that one of the beasts "ressemble à un *elephant*;" the others he leaves non-descript. Chardin discovered in the two first something of the *Horse*, *Lion*, *Rhinoceros* and *Elephant*; in the others a winged *horse* with the head of a *man*, (Tome IX, p. 55). "Being entred the "Pomœrium of Cambyses's Hall, (says Fryer, p. 251), at the Hall gates we encoun-"tred two horrid shapes both for grandeur and unwontedness; being all in armour or "coat of mail, striking a terror on those about to intrude; their countenances were of "the fiercest *Lions*, and might pass for such, had not huge wings made them flying "*Gryffons*; and their bulk and hinder-parts exceeded the largest *Elephants*." Kæmpfer (p. 336), perceived in two the face and beard of a *man*, with the winged back of a *Griffin*, but he knew not whether the others represented a *Camel-Lion* or some other monster; "an Camelo-leonem, vel aliud bruti monstrum." Le Brun (p. 263) acknowledges some difficulty, but fancies a likeness to the *Sphinx*; the body of a *horse* and the short thick paws of a *lion*; also (p. 288) to the head of an *ape*. Niebuhr regards the winged figures as Persian *Sphinxes*; (T. II. p. 102) those which front the staircase, represent, as he is induced to think from their divided hoofs and other coincidences, that imaginary *unicorn*, seen in so many places among the ruins; "En attendant on peut voir par les ongles divisés et le reste de la figure, "que ces animaux doivent representer la pretendue Licorne, que l'on trouve si souvent "entre ces ruines." Francklin (p. 81, Calcutta edit.) describes them as *Sphinxes*; and Morier (Trav. I, 130), "for the want of a better name," also calls them *Sphinxes*. However copious this list of real and fabulous animals, I may augment it from the valuable work (p. 131) of D'Hancarville, above quoted; he declares that the winged figures were partly *bulls*, and the other two composed between the *bull* and the *lion*.

Thus it is evident that the sides and hinder parts of these four beasts, and three inscriptions (in nail-headed or arrow-headed letters) placed over each, were designed chiefly, if not solely, for the inspection of those who should enter the gateway. Yet it often occurred to me while standing between the walls, that had this structure been closed with solid gates at each end, and covered with a roof, the person inside must have been unable to read the inscriptions from want of light, as the thick marble walls are without windows or any other aperture.

According to the best observations that I could make, the three inscriptions over each quadruped, corresponded not only in number of lines, but in the very characters, to those opposite; and this symmetrical arrangement, though not visible in many parts of the general ground-plan, appears to have been much studied throughout the ruins, both in identity of inscriptions, and the position of figures. Thus one figure on a portal, holds the knife or dagger in the left hand, that it may look the same way and be an exact counterpart to another figure directly opposite, which holds the dagger in its right hand, (See Pl. XLI, fig. 9); and my journal states that of eighteen window-frames in the opposite walls of two chambers at L, each furnishes the same inscription, on which some remarks shall be offered in another page of this section. That the Persians long after Alexander had destroyed their capital, in the fourth century before Christ, retained an inclination for this conformity in figures,

will appear on examination of various medals struck by their Sassanian kings, from the third to the seventh century of our era; for on them we find a spear (or sceptre), and even a sword in the left hand of one personage standing near the fire-altar, while he who guards this sacred object on the other side, grasps the sword or spear with his right hand, in an attitude symmetrically corresponding(22). A similar

(22) See a sword *in the left hand* on three Sassanian medals of my collection, in Vol. I. Pl. XXI, (Nos. 37, 38, 39, p. 441), and both sword and spear, on several in M. de Sacy's "Mem. sur. div. Antiq. de la Perse," (Pl. VI and VIII). Some more medals illustrating this remark may be seen in Pellerin's "Troisieme Supplement, &c. (Pl. II); in Khevenhuller's "Regum Veterum Numismata, (tab. II); in Thavonat's "Numismatá Regum Veterum," &c. tab. II; in Ienisch's Essay "De Fatis Linguarum Orientalium," (tab. II), prefixed to the new edition of Meninski's Dictionary; in Niebuhr's "Description de l'Arabie," tab. XI, (Copenh. 1773); and in other works. A spear in the left hand and a sword (not to be confounded with a dagger) on the right side, might here be shown from silver coins, which a friend procured for me in Persia; one bearing the image and *Pahlavi* superscription of SHA'HPU'HRI, (𐭱𐭧𐭮𐭯𐭥𐭫𐭩), the other of VARAHRA'N (𐭢𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭭); but they differ so little from medals of the same kings, (SHA'PU'R and BAHRA'M) engraved and explained by M. de Sacy, that I have rather chosen to place before my reader one preserved in the inestimable cabinet of Dr. Hunter, and hitherto, perhaps, unpublished, (See Pl. XLI, fig. 18). It is of silver and most probably belonging to the king of whom a medal (but from a very different die) was given in Vol. I. (See Pl. XXI, No. 37, p. 441). On the observe of this before us we read in *Pahlavi* characters,

𐭱𐭧𐭮𐭯𐭥𐭫𐭩 𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭲𐭭 𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭲𐭭 𐭧 𐭢𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭭 𐭠𐭩𐭭 𐭱𐭧𐭮𐭯 𐭢𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭭 𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭲𐭭 𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭲𐭭

"Mazdiesn beh Varahrán malkán malká Airán ve Anirán, minuchetri men Yezdá(n)."

"The worshipper of Ormuzd; the excellent Varahrán; (Baharám) King of Kings; "of Irán and of Anirán; celestially descended from the Gods." On the reverse (𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭲𐭭 𐭢𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭭) "*Varahrán Yezdáni,*" signifying "Varahrán the divine." This interpretation is perfectly justified by M. de Sacy's analysis of the legends on *Sassanian* medals, and other *Pahlavi* inscriptions, (See Mem. sur div. Antiq. de la Perse). Respecting the medals now under consideration, I must remark that the epithet *Yezdáni* (on the reverse) is to be read in a parallel direction with the name *Varahrán.*

disposition may be perceived in very ancient monuments of other nations. Thus on cylindrical gems which to me appeared rather Babylonian than (as generally styled) Persepolitan; and in some Egyptian temples the figures on one half of the frieze, are often but reversed counterparts of those on the other. I have reason also to believe, from several delineations of those temples, that they exhibit the same inscriptions in different places; like the Persian ruins at *Takht-i-Jemshíd*, and near the *Tomb of Solomon's Mother*, (مشهد مادر سلیمان *Meshehd i Máder i Suleimán)* not far from *Murghâb* (مرغاب), hereafter described. Perhaps it was only when relating to subjects considered sacred, and not merely historical, that figures were arranged with symmetrical correspondence, and the same *formula* repeated in so many inscriptions(23)

(23) See the "Frises Emblematiques de differens Temples Egyptiens," among the plates in Denon's "Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte." Not only the friezes, but the corresponding walls, columns, the opposite sides of portals, and other parts of some Egyptian Temples exhibit figures disposed in the same order; as appears from the excellent Plates (III, IV, XI, XIV) that illustrate Hamilton's "Ægyptiaca." This learned antiquary describing certain colossal statues in the great temple of Luxor or Thebes, (p. 130), says, "some of them have inscriptions on the belt which "girds their dagger or sword round the waist; on two of them I observed precisely the "same sacred characters, differing only in this circumstance, that those to the right "on the one statue, on the other are to the left." Perhaps between this contrary disposition of the same inscriptions, and the Persepolitan system, some analogy may be found. Yet neither do the ancient Egyptians, nor Persians seem to have always studied exact symmetry in the general plan of their great edifices, especially in such parts as we may suppose added at different periods. See Denon's account of Philée, where he thought that the confusion which appeared like an errour in the plan, produced a finer effect than "la froide symétrie." See also Hamilton's Remarks on the

I cannot leave the gateway E, F, G, without observing, that from the inconsiderable remains of a cornice, it is impossible to determine what sort of architrave or entablature crowned the pilasters; nor is it certain that the walls ever bore a superstructure that raised them to a level with the four intervening columns, so that the whole edifice might have been comprehended under one roof. To Pietro della Valle and Chardin, it appeared that the walls had never sustained a covering, nor any superstructure([24]). Indeed Chardin and others have doubted whether, throughout the whole *Takht*, any of the chambers were ever ceiled or roofed. This subject must be resumed in another place; meanwhile I acknowledge myself unable to decide whether of the walls or pilasters at E and G, each is formed of only two ingeniously united pieces([25]); or of a greater number([26]); or of a single mass. However incredible it may seem, the whole,

Temples at Philæ and at Thebes; (Ægyptiaca, pp. 46, 131). I might indicate many perplexing irregularities besides those above noticed in the plan of *Jemshíd's Throne* at Persepolis.

([24]) "Di fuorò, con tutto ciò, non si vede, ne vi è segno, che vi sia stato cosa alcuna, "massimamente copertura." (Viaggi de P della Valle; Lett. 15. Ottob. 21, 1621). "Remarquez cependant que les Pilastres ne portent rien, et qu'apparemment ils n'ont "jamais rien porté." Chard. Voyages, &c. Tome IX. p. 55, Rouen, 1723.

([25]) "Ex pluribus tamen quam duobus saxis constructæ non sunt, ita vero affabrè, "ne eorum appareat commissura." (Kæmpf. Amoen. Exot. p. 336).

([26]) Au reste ces animaux là ne sont pas taillez sur une seule pierre, mais sur trois "jointes ensemble—Le premier portique est encore elevé de 8 pierres & le second de "sept." (Le Brun, Voyages, &c. p. 363).

according to Chardin, who with other persons most attentively examined it, is but one piece of the same blackish, hard, and polished marble above-mentioned([27]). Deslandes also regarded it as a single mass([28]).

This should not surprise us, since all the Persepolitan monuments seem, like the Pyramids of Egypt, as if they had been designed to last for ever; I thought it not impossible that of those pilasters or walls facing the staircase, the bases at least, which rise four or five feet above the general level, might have been fashioned, though not separated, from the very rock which serves as a foundation for the structure. In forming the terrace many natural inequalities of the rock must have presented themselves, and of those perhaps, the architect took advantage. On the subject of that great trough or cistern marked H, (See p. 236), the suspicion entertained by Kæmpfer and Niebuhr (that it is an unseparated portion of the rock), in some degree justifies my conjecture respecting the bases([29]). Thus at the place

([27]) "Quoique cela paroisse incroyable—j'ai reconnu assurement que c'etoit une "même masse, et toute de ce même marbre noiratre, dur et poli, dont j'ai parlé." (Tome IX, p. 54).

([28]) "Les cotez sont d'une pierre." (Beaut. de la Perse, p. 57).

([29]) "Hydria seu linter—videbatur autem petroso solo continuus i. e. ex caute "prominente efformatus; quia ipsum solum hoc loco petram refert." (Kæmpf. Am. Exot. p. 338). "Cet auge n'est que d'une seule pierre; peut être le rocher avoit il "icy une hauteur, que l'architecte a fait couper en partie, et dont ensuitte il a laissé "cet auge." (Nieb. Voyage, &c. Tome II. p. 103, Amst· 1780). To conjectures

called *Naksh i Rustam*, (about four miles distant from the *Takht*, and described in another section of this chapter), are two fire-altars, each five feet high, (represented in Pl. XLVIII, fig. 4), which to me appeared wholly formed from a protuberance of the solid rock.

So many ingenious travellers have minutely described, and delineated the sculptured figures abounding throughout these Persepolitan ruins, that I can add but little to what has been done by them. Some particulars, however, respecting which their opinions do not coincide with mine, though founded on actual inspection of the same objects, shall be noticed in another section.

Among the numerous human figures, (carved in relief projecting from a quarter of an inch to an inch and a half), some equal, in height, the stature of a full grown person, while others exceed it by two or three feet, or are so much below it; and many seem but twelve or fourteen inches high. The different proportions of two will sufficiently appear from Pl. XLIII and Pl. XLIV, which represent, of the real size, fragments preserved in my own collection([30]). Of

offered by such travellers I shall not oppose, (what after all is most probably fallacious), a kind of faint recollection, that the position of this cistern was not perfectly horizontal.

([30]) The thick and numerous curls which ornament these heads may justify the application of a Greek epithet bestowed on the Medes or Persians whom Æschy-

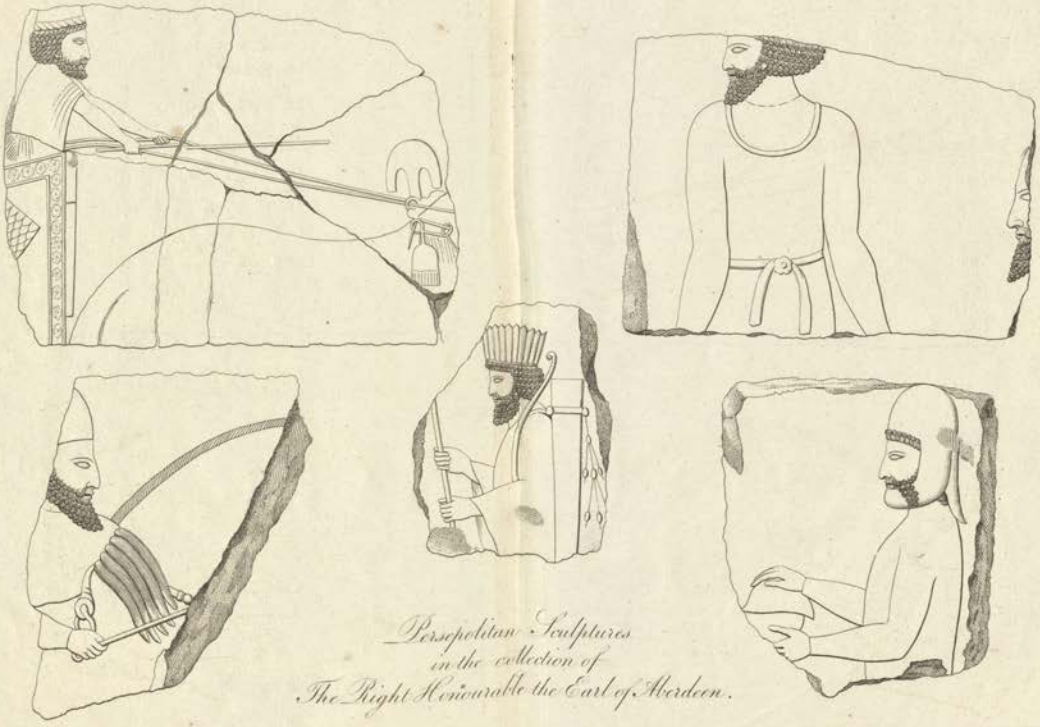
Persepolitan Head?

W. G. O. del.

H. Mallow Sculp.

Persepolitan Fragment.

in Sir William Ouseley's Collection.



Persepolitan Sculptures
in the collection of
The Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen.

H. Mathew, sculp.

Persepolitan Sculptures
in the collection of
The Right Honourable Sir Gore Ouseley Bart.

W. G. del.t

H. Meikle sculp.t

several, their dimensions being various, the forms only are expressed in Pl. XLV and Pl. XLVI. By the obliging permission of Lord Aberdeen, who preserves them amidst the richest antiquarian treasures, I copied in Pl. XLV, some of those sculptures which his brother, Mr. Gordon, had sent from Persepolis; and Pl. XLVI exhibits others brought to England by Sir Gore Ouseley, and now decorating the staircase of his house in London. Plate XLI contains (under fig. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 17), miscellaneous subjects, which I sketched in different parts of the *Takht*, where, most probably, they still remain ([31]); and Pl.

lus had seen, in the fifth century before Christ; "Βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος." See the epigram, or epitaph, on Æschylus, which Pausanias would attribute to that Tragick Poet himself. It is given by Kuhn in a note to his edition of Pausanias, (Attica, p. 35). The Medes and Persians, whatever provincial difference of dialect or habit may have existed among them, were confounded so perfectly by the Greeks, that a magnificent edifice at Sparta was denominated the *Persian* Gate, because the *Median* spoils contributed to its construction. "Επιφανέστατον δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εστιν, ἣν στοαν Περσικην ονομαζουσιν απο λαφυρων ποιηθεισαν των Μηδικῶν. Pausan. Lacon. (p. 232, ed. Kuhnii). The fashion of wearing thick bushy hair appears to have continued in Persia until the Arabian conquest.

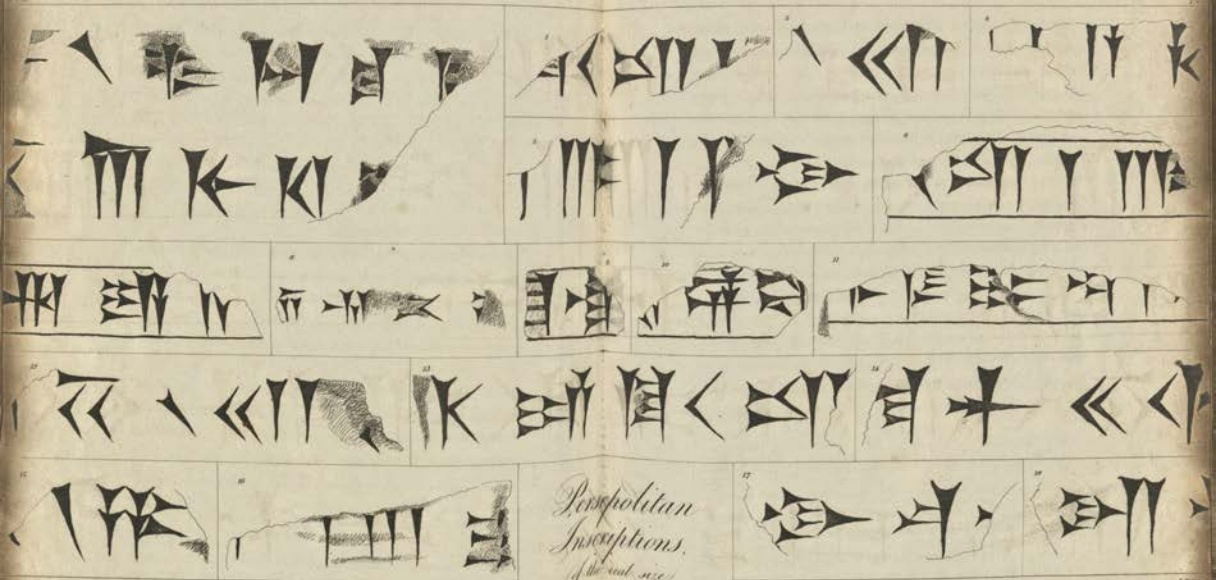
([31]) To fig. 9 a reference has been made in p. 249. Fig. 10, is the shoe of a large figure on one of the pilasters. Fig. 11, an ornamented border on a staircase; the counterpart was visible at *Máder i Suleimán*, near *Shíráz*, (See p. 41). The lotos or something under the form of a lotos (See fig. 12), appears also in the hand of a king or great personage; likewise among the ornaments of fig. 17, and on other sculptures. Fig. 13 shows three forms of spear-heads, and the round knob at the lower end of some spears. Fig. 14 represents two extraordinary objects placed near the foot-stool of a king sitting on a high chair, (as slightly sketched in fig. 8); of these objects a just idea is not conveyed even by Niebuhr's delineation, though much more accurate than either Deslandes's, Chardin's, Kæmpfer's, or Le Brun's. Fig. 15 shows the Mithraick symbol, which appears winged, in many places, (See fig. 8

XLVII shows the inscriptions on several fragments that rewarded me for the trouble of searching among the ruins. They are most accurately copied, and of the real size; but it did not seem necessary to delineate the pieces of marble, some very large, and irregularly shaped, on which they are sculptured. The letters of these as of all the Persepolitan inscriptions are cut into the stone with considerable sharpness and neatness of execution, while the human figures and other devices project in relief([32]).

Among the inscriptions copied in Pl. XLVII, it must be observed that Nos. 13 and 18 are from a window-frame of the edifice L; here one chamber exhibits twelve, and another six inscriptions which, although some are considerably injured, I have reason to believe resembled each other most exactly, as well in their situation on the window frames, as in the size of their characters, (which No. 13 and No. 18 faithfully represent), and in the very characters or words themselves. Chardin (Tome IX, p. 107, Rouen 1723), and Kæmpfer (p. 347) have each copied one of those inscrip-

and 16; and fig. 17 appears to be the exact counterpart of a Sphinx at *Máder i Suleimán*. I shall offer in the Appendix a few observations on some of the figures here briefly noticed, and other Persepolitan sculptures.

([32]) Nos. 2, 3 and 4, appear to have been parts of the same inscription; which part should be on the right, the left, or in the middle, I cannot pretend to say; some of the intermediate pieces being lost. No. 8, part of an inscription on the fold of a garment that clothes a large figure. Nos. 9 and 10, belong to one inscription, but which preceded the other is uncertain. This may also be said of Nos. 15 and 16, evidently fragments of one inscription.



Persepolitan Inscriptions, of the real size, on fragments in the collection of Sir William Ouseley.

tions; Kæmpfer, in my opinion, with much greater accuracy than his predecessor. Both occasionally complain, and not unjustly, of their engravers; to whom, perhaps may be ascribed some of the variations that appear in their respective copies. Knowing how important even the correction of one errour may be to those engaged in deciphering legends so abstruse, I have given in Pl. XLI, (fig. 21), the three lines, one placed perpendicularly on each side, and one, horizontally, on the upper part of a window frame, the least damaged of all in the structure marked L. It is not improbable that each line may contain a sentence in itself complete; and it is possible that each may differ from the others in dialect(33); but, convinced that the writing proceeds from left to right, I have not hesitated to number the lines accordingly; supposing, however, that the first and third line must be read as if placed horizontally, their letters following the same course as those which compose the English word "*Inscription*," &c, written over each in the Plate.

Respecting the great Hall of Columns (at K), some particulars may be here added to those already noticed in p.

(33) Of three inscriptions placed one by the side of another, above some sculptured figures, Niebuhr, (who copied them in his Tab. xxiv, B, C, D,) affirms that each has its particular alphabet. "C'est quelque chose de remarquable que chacune d'elles a "un alphabet particulier." (Tome II, p. 112). Perhaps an equal diversity of character may be found in the three lines of this inscription on the window-frame. See Pl. XLI, fig. 21), where will be recognised near the beginning of the first line, No. 18 of Pl. XLVII, and near the middle, No. 13.

236. Of each column the shaft, which seems from 30 to 40 feet high, consists generally of two or three pieces; fluted into forty grooves or hollows, and in circumference above sixteen feet. The pedestals are mostly about six feet high; but the capitals appear unequal both in size and shape; a few, if such we may designate capitals, being equal in height to one third of the whole column; and comprising four or five pieces which swell beyond the circumference of the shaft, in a style peculiar, as it would seem, to these Persepolitan ruins. Some resemble the front-parts of a bull, camel, lion, horse, or double quadruped; that is, the heads and necks of two beasts, joined at the back, each kneeling or having the forelegs contracted(34). Some are nearly pointed, perhaps through wilful injury or gradual decomposition; and of one or two the pieces have been moved, probably by an earthquake, from their central position. A sketch in Pl. XLI, fig. 6, will serve, better than any verbal description that I can give, to show different forms of the columns; these, including bases and capitals, (See p. 236), we shall not much err in reckoning sixty feet high; and they are mostly placed at the distance of about six and twenty feet one from another.

(34) Niebuhr regarded this as the unicorn, so frequent among these ruins, (Tome II, p. 110). The horn does not appear in Chardin's Plate, (Tome IX, p. 75); where the engraver has indulged his fancy in representing a perfect capital. In its original state it probably resembled the capitals of columns which ornament the Royal Tombs, (See Pl. XLI, fig. 20).

Whether it was originally intended that the great Hall should be covered, many have doubted, and not without reason. We can scarcely imagine any superstructure besides a slight roof resting on those *wonderful columns*(35), so lofty and once so numerous; (48, 54, 72, 84, 100, 108, or 120, according to the calculations of various travellers quoted in p. 236). Yet a Persian Lexicographer, if I rightly understand his meaning, raises a stupendous edifice on them; for, explaining the name *Chil Minár*, which the *Takht* has borne during many centuries, (and which signifies the "Forty Spires or Pillars)," he says, "it denotes the "Throne of Solomon, on whom be the blessing of God: "also, the edifice erected by JEMSHI'D, consisting of one "hundred and forty columns, on the summits of which "was constructed a palace (in length) one hundred and sixty "*gaz*"(36). I have inserted the words "*in length*," as we cannot suppose the structure, even of wood, to have been in height 160 *gaz*, for each *gaz* is equal to an English yard and four inches. Indeed my insertion is justified by the manuscript records which furnished SHEIKH ZARKU'B with materials

(35) "Il est difficile de dire si ces merveilleuses colomnes que trois hommes ensem-"ble pourroient à peine embrasser, soutenoient quelque plancher, quelque voute," &c. (Chard. Tome IX. p. 75, Rouen 1723),

(36) چل مناز عبارت از تخت سلیمان علیه السلام است و عمارت جمشید را نیز گویند و آن یک صد و چهل ستون بوده و بر بالای انها قصری ساخته بوده اند یکصد و شصت گز
MS. Dict. *Burhán Kátea.*

for his *History of Shíráz*; the same manuscripts, perhaps, from which the Lexicographer abovequoted derived his information. ZARKU'B, having mentioned "the 140 co-"lumns erected by king JEMSHI'D on a rising ground, and "the *Kiúshk*, (generally expressing a villa, or summer-"house), built upon *it* (or *them*)," adds, "and the *length* of "that (*Kiúshk*) was 160 *gaz*; so that in no region had any "monarch ever beheld or constructed such an edifice; and "the vestiges of it which remain at present, are called *Chehil* "*Mináreh*, or the "Forty Spires"(37).

The twenty-five columns which Della Valle saw standing here in 1621, (and of which ten have since fallen), appeared to him but ill adapted for the support of any vault or covering, from their unequal height, their extraordinary capitals, and the difficulty of contriving stairs whereby

(37) و صد و چهل ستون بر سر پشته براورده کوشکي بر سر او بساخت و طول ان یکصد و شصت کز بنوعی که مثل ان در هیچ ملک هیچ پادشاهي ندیده بود و نساخته بود و اکنون اثاري که از ان ماندهٔ انرا چهل منارهٔ میخوانند

MS. *Shíráz Námah*. Kæmpfer (p. 303) translates this passage, but not with literal precision, nor has he given the original text; his version is "Statuisse præterea 140 "columnas ad radicem montis, supra quas atrium extruxerit, cujus longitudo 160 "ulnarum, ut ei simile nullus mortalium Rex ante ipsum fecerit vel viderit. Ejus "reliqua à prisco splendore rudera hodie appellari *Tsjihil minar*." The Persian text may seem a little ambiguous in بر سر او Kæmpfer by his translation (*supra quas*), applies those words to the *columns* and not to the *rising ground*. The Lexicographer quoted in note 36, by his expression بر بالاي انها unequivocally alludes to the columns, using the same term (بربالاي) "on the top or summit," as another writer from whose work a passage has been extracted in p 40, (note 38); and as he himself employs in his explanation of the word *tálár*; (See note 45 of this chapter).

persons might ascend to a superstructure so exalted; he even doubted whether those square edifices in other parts of the *Takht*, which having walls, doorways, and window-frames, are commonly styled *chambers*, were ever roofed; as no remains of any covering can be perceived; and he therefore was inclined to suppose all these ruins the vestiges of a Temple rather than of a Palace([38]).

Chardin who regarded the Hall of Columns as that place in a Temple where the most solemn religious rites were performed, seems to believe, that it never had been covered, and he entertains the same opinion respecting the chambers([39]). Deslandes imagined that the columns never supported any thing more than Idols; and that the chambers

([38]) "Io inchino più tosto alla opinione del Tempio," &c. (Viaggi, Lettera XV, 21, Ottobre 1621). "Non son le colonne, al mio parere, tutte uguali di altezza; il "che mi fece maravigliare—onde non posso affermare che sopra sostenessero volta "ò copertura alcuna—pare che ne anco possa essere stato Palazzo Reale; oltre che "le colonne son tanto alte, che non ha del verisimile che non altre scale delle quali ne "men si vede alcun vestigio si andasse infin la sù."—"L'esser questi quadri piccioli "scoperti di sopra, nè vedersi segno alcun di cosa caduta che potesse ne' tempi "andati coprirli, mi fa creder che non fossero camere—Tempio, poteva ben esser "tutta la fabrica, ancorche scoperto," &c. (ib).

([39]) "Il y a beaucoup d'apparence que c'etoit là le Chœur du Temple, et l'endroit "ou les victimes etoient immolées, et ou se pratiquoit le culte Religieux." Tome ix. p. 77. "Ce qu'il y a de plus incomprehensible, c'est comment ces batimens que "nous avons appellez des chambres etoient couverts; car on ne voit aucun reste dans "toutes les ruines, soit de voute, soit de toit, et on pourroit raisonnablement douter "s'il y en a eu jamais, et si ces petits edifices en nombre presque infini n'etoient point "découverts, comme le Chœur du Temple." Tome IX. p. 94.

above-mentioned, could have been covered only with wood-work([40]).

But to Kæmpfer it appeared that the Hall of Columns had been roofed or ceiled, as well as other structures among the ruins([41]); and a more recent traveller, Niebuhr, who considered the *Takht* to be Darius's Palace, demolished by Alexander, thought it not impossible that some rows of columns in the Great Hall, might have supported a stage, and others terraces, although the materials of such superstructures no longer remain([42]).

An antiquary, however, the ingenious D'Hancarville, endeavours to prove that the *Takht* was a Temple, erected before any monument of the Egyptians or of the Greeks;

([40]) "Il y a apparence par quelques restes de figures qu' on voit au dessus, qu'elles "ne servoient qu'à soutenir des Idoles, et non pas aucun edifice."—"les ruines de "quelques chambres qui ne sont point couvertes, et ne peuvent l'avoir esté que de "charpente." (Beaut. de la Perse, p. 59).

([41]) Magnificentiæ major pars consistit in multitudine prægrandium tum columnarum quæ sustinuisse lacunaria videntur, tum portarum quæ ædificia clauserant." (Amœn. Exot. p. 334). In the Structure M (of my plan) he found vestiges of thirty six columns "quibus innixa lacunaria fuerant." (p. 350). See another passage from Kæmpfer, and one from Fryer, quoted in p. 239, note 14.

([42]) Referring to his own ground-plan he says, "D'autres Voyageurs sont de l'opinion que cette grande colomnade n'ait été jamais couverte; je ne sais pas pourquoi l'on ne poseroit pas avec autant de raison que sur la colomnade C il y a tout au moins eu un etage; et sur les colomnades B, D, E, des terrasses; actuellement, a la verité, l'on n'en trouve plus de marques," &c. (Voyage, Tome II. p, 111. Amst. 1780).

above seven centuries before the first Zoroaster, and above three thousand years before Christ. It was dedicated, he believes, to the primitive worship of fire; an institution coeval with the earliest religious ideas. This Temple, like our *Stone henge*, was never covered; the figures which surmounted the columns would not admit a roof; and in the disposition of the columns themselves, he traces an idea of those groves which lent their sacred shade to the most ancient votaries of religion(43).

Of the columns which originally decorated this Hall, so many have fallen that considerable intervals appear between the remaining few; and I acknowledge that the first view induced me to doubt whether one had ever contributed with others to support any general roof or covering. But it soon became my opinion that when all the columns existed according to the original plan, such architects as executed the wonderful structure of *Jemshíd's Throne*, could have found but little difficulty in connecting the columns by beams, or otherwise, so that

(43) "Le Feu allumé sur des autels, est d'une institution aussi ancienne que les "premieres idées religieuses." (Rech. sur les Antiq. de la Perse, p. 117, at the end of Rech. sur les Arts de la Grece). "Les figures posées sur ces colonnes ne permirent "pas d'y asseoir des voutes ou d'y poser une toiture. Il me semble reconnoitre dans "cette disposition, le dessein de conserver l'idée de ces bois dans l'obscurité desquels "les hommes révérerent très anciennement la Divinité. (p. 135). "Tout y porte, "l'empreinte d'une antiquité plus grande encore que celle des Egyptiens et des "Grecs." (p. 138).

a roof or ceiling might not only shade the Hall, but even serve as a floor to some superstructure of slight materials; such perhaps, as the Persian authors above-quoted have entitled a palace, villa or summer-house. On a smaller scale and with base materials, we find that works in many respects similar, have been constructed by the modern artists of Persia; and the Royal Palace called *Saadet ábád* near *Ispahán*, with its Hall of Columns, and its roof, (far-projecting so as to afford the greater shade), has frequently reminded me of the great Persepolitan prototype; which it resembles in its *mertebbahs* (مرتبه plat-forms or terraces); rising successively towards apartments behind the Columns, and in other circumstances. Le Brun has delineated the Palace of *Saadet ábád*, and shown its *tálár* (تالار) or Hall of Columns, and the projecting roof, with sufficient accuracy(44); and I shall have occasion to represent it in a different point of view, (annexing also a plan), and to describe it in my account of *Ispahán*.

Meanwhile it may be observed that the word *Tálár* (تالار) now generally applied to any Hall of Columns, (open at the sides or merely in front, but roofed), would properly signify, according to one most excellent dictionary, "a seat, throne,

(44) See his "Voyages," Pl. 83, p. 204. (Amst. 1718). The Hall of Columns he describes as the *Talael*, being deceived by the change of R into L so frequent among the vulgar Persians; for the proper term is *Tálár*.

"(stage), or chamber, composed of beams and boards, and "supported on four pillars, or more"(45). With a ceiling of such materials the Hall at *Saadet ábád* is now covered; and the space between this ceiling and the outer roof, forms a kind of low chamber, communicating, by steps, with an upper story of the edifice immediately behind. May we suppose that near the spot marked S in my plan of the Persepolitan *Takht*, (Pl. XLI, fig. 1), some building once stood from which JEMSHI'D, or any other ancient monarch of whatever name, might ascend to the superstructure resting on the columns at K; and there, seated in a lofty throne resplendent with jewels, display his glories to an admiring multitude; or perform some publick and solemn act of religious worship; for, in early times, the regal and sacerdotal offices were frequently discharged by the same person; "at once both King and Priest,"

هم شهریاري وهم موبدي

as JEMSHI'D describes himself in the *Sháh Námah* of FIRDAUSI(46).?

(45) تالار—تختي یا خانه که بر بالاي چهار ستون یا بیشتر از چوب و تخته سازند
MS. *Burhán Kátea.*

(46) This may recall to the classical reader's memory, several passages besides that line which, although often quoted as of Virgil, (Æn. III. 80), has not seemed genuine to every critick; "Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos." Respecting the authenticity of this line and some verses immediately following, see the beautiful and excellent edition of the *Delphin* classicks with the *Variorum* notes, (entitled the "Regent's Edition"), lately published by Mr. Valpy, (Part I.

That a flat roof, covering the great Persepolitan *Tálár*, might have been the scene of religious ceremonies, will appear not improbable when we consider, that columns having for capitals (like those above-mentioned), the united fore-parts of two kneeling quadrupeds, support, by means of beams, the floor or terrace on which a Persian king is represented standing before a Fire-altar, among various sculptures at the Royal Tombs, (See Pl. XLI, fig. 19 and fig. 20).

IV. Let us now proceed from the Hall of Columns four or five hundred yards, to objects not less interesting, while the design with which they were constructed, cannot, at least in my opinion, be misunderstood; I therefore have not hesitated to call them the Royal Tombs. These more immediately connected with the *Takht*, are two excavations in the mountain which bounds it Eastward. The interval between them is from three to four hundred yards; and an idea of their situation may be conceived on reference to the general view, Pl. XL. A more particular delineation of the Northern Tomb is given in Pl. XLI, (fig. 19), and may serve, so immaterially does one differ from the other, to

p. 569). Yet an interpolation cannot have been here made by any modern hand; for the Grammarian Servius, who flourished about the year 410, thus comments on the line above-quoted. "Sane majorum hæc erat consuetudo, ut Rex esset etiam Sacer-"dos, et Pontifex, unde hodie quoque Imperatores dicimus Pontifices." The union of regal and pontifical dignity in one person, among various nations of antiquity, may be the subject of discussion hereafter.

illustrate the account of both; indeed it might be said of five more which shall be noticed in the course of this chapter. The front of each, finely sculptured in the solid rock, consists of two compartments; the lower, which is about seventy feet wide, represents a stately piece of architecture. Below is the form of a door; but it seems equally solid as the rock in which it is cut, although for the gratification of curiosity, or from the hope of finding treasure, a small opening has been made in the lower part. On each side of this false door are two columns, surmounted with capitals of the double-unicorn order before noticed, (See p. 258, and Pl. XLI. fig. 20). These four columns seem to support on beams (of which the ends appear between the necks of the unicorns) an architrave, frieze and cornice; and on this entablature rests, in the upper compartment, an object which, in my opinion, Kæmpfer has described better than any other traveller; for it resembles a kind of stage in form not unlike the Israelitish "Ark of the Covenant," as we sometimes represent it(47). This stage or ark, in reference to any human figure of moderate natural proportions, would be about twelve feet long, and seven or eight high; on it is placed a fire-altar, which, measuring by the same standard, we may suppose two feet eight or ten inches in height. Within a few feet of this blazing altar are three low steps, forming a small plat-

(47) "In eâ spectatur structura quasi theatri, sive fortassis arcæ alicujus non procul "abludentis ab arcâ fœderis Israelitarum." (Amœn. Exot. p. 315).

form; and on this stands the figure of some king or illustrious personage, who holds up his right hand as if in admiration, or about to lay it on his breast as an expression of profound respect. In his left hand he grasps a bow at one extremity, the other resting near his foot([48]). So far it is possible that this sculpture may commemorate some ceremony actually performed on solemn occasions; and as the same subject is repeated in seven different places, and always on the fronts of tombs, we may, with some reason conjecture that it related to those whose bodies were therein deposited([49]). But between the king and the fire-altar, a figure, which we must consider as merely symbolical, is seen hovering in the air; and near it a globe, supposed by some to be the solar orb; though from the appearance of a crescent,

([48]) The bow appears distinctly on the seven different Tombs; and even the string may be plainly discerned on most. Yet in some engravings the bow is represented as a serpent; and this mistake has led into errour two or three ingenious mythologists and antiquaries. But great allowance must be made for the constrained situation in which a traveller views minute objects placed at a considerable height, and almost perpendicularly above him when he stands close to the monument, or scarcely discernible should he retire to a moderate distance. Herbert, Chardin and others acknowledge this difficulty. I would recommend, from my own experience, repeated examination of the same sculptures at different times of the day. The morning or evening sun has frequently exposed to view objects which in the meridian glare had escaped observation.

([49]) Not perhaps individually or personally, but in their general character, regal or pontifical. The king appears with the same countenance, and dress, and in the same attitude, on all the seven tombs; and each contains receptacles for three human bodies. It can therefore scarcely be supposed that the royal figure was designed to represent, like a portrait, any particular personage. It is not impossible that these excavations were prepared by some ancient Monarch as sepulchral monuments for his descendants during many generations.

perhaps designed to represent the nocturnal luminary, whilst the winged circle might express to the ancient votaries of Mithra, not only the sun but the Divinity himself. Yet that mysterious human figure, which from its middle upwards seems to rise out of the winged circle, affords much matter for inquiry. Chardin thought that it might be the soul of some hero ascending to heaven on the sacrificial smoke; or transmigrating from one body to another in an everlasting circle([50]). De Sacy recognises not only in this figure on the Tombs and elsewhere, but in all those winged circles without the human head or bust, that extraordinary kind of spirit called *Feroüer* or *Ferúher*([51]); which though it existed long before the creation of man, attaches itself to all human beings at the moment of their birth, defends them against evil during life, quits them at their death, and becomes united with the soul and the understanding([52]); whilst

([50]) "Ne seroit ce point, comme dans l'Apotheose des Grecs et des Romains, l'ame "du Heros qui s'envole au ciel sur la fumée du sacrifice; ou plûtôt la Metempsycose "des Indiens; ou l'ame qui va de corps en corps, et qui fait un cercle eternel?" (Tome IX, p, 84). The learned Dr. Hyde seems to have adopted the same opinion. Those winged figures on the Tombs he regards as "Regum *corpuscula volatilia*, "quasi per aërem in Cœlum ascensura (uti à nobis Christianis supra sepulchra pingi "solent capita alata) animarum ad Cœlum volatum significantia." Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. (cap. xxiii, p. 305, Oxon. 1700).

([51]) "Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est le *ferouher* que je crois reconnoître," &c. (Mem. sur div. Ant. de la Perse, p. 268).

([52]) Those spiritual creatures of imagination, the *Feroüers*, (or *Ferúhers*) have been already noticed, (Vol. I. p. 379), and are more fully described in the *Zendavesta* of M. Anquetil. Although in one passage (Zendav. Tome II. p. 284), ascribed to

our learned Bryant, and after him D'Hancàrville, regard this winged figure as an emblem of the Deity(53). Reserving for a subsequent page some remarks on the sculptures that decorate the Tombs externally, I shall here notice (and but briefly) the interior of those two excavated in the mountain immediately behind the ruins; for on entering them through the same small and difficult openings which had admitted many former travellers(54), I found each to be

trees and to water, yet *Feroüers* are denied by the *Pársí* theologians to irrational animals; "quadrupeds, and birds, and fishes—these have neither souls nor *Ferúhers*;"

وچهارپاي و مرغ و ماهي—ايشان روان و فروهر ندارند

as we read in the Persian MS. entitled *Ulmâï Islám* (علما اسلام); a copy of which I procured, but not without difficulty, among the Fire-worshippers, by whom, as Anquetil justly observes, it is considered extremely valuable and ancient; some of them tracing it up to the time of ALI, who died in the seventh century. (Zendav. Tome II. p. 339). But from this supposed antiquity, I am inclined to deduct at least six hundred years, and to believe it a work of the thirteenth century, for reasons which shall be hereafter assigned in a descriptive Catalogue of my Oriental Manuscripts.

(53) Anc. Mythology, Vol. I. p. 276, (third edit. 1807). Rech. sur les Antiq. de la Perse, p. 148, 150. This mystick figure has been strangely altered into the form of a naked and winged youth, sitting on a rainbow, in one of the plates that illustrate Thevenôts "Voyages," and which would appear to have been engraved from a very inaccurate description. Yet Thevenôt has always seemed to me, wheresoever I traced his steps, "homme fort exact dans les observations;" as he is described by Chardin, who met him near Persepolis, in the year 1667, (See "Voyages de Chardin, Tome IX, p. 84, 124, Rouen, 1723). By Deslandes also who was with him at the ruins, ample testimony is given in his favour; he laments his death ("dans un mechant "village nommé *Miana* proche de *Tauris*"), and adds that "les curieux le doivent "bien regretter, car c'estoit un veritable voyageur, verteux et sçavant." (Beaut. de la Perse, p, 65). The misrepresentation, however, in his plate above-mentioned, has seduced both Bryant and D'Hancarville into some mythological errours. (See "Anc. "Myth." Vol. III, p. 295; Rech. p. 118),

(54) When I first visited Persepolis (in May) the entrance into the tomb (already noticed, Vol. I, p. 401), was almost closed with accumulated sand and wet clay.

(judging by very imperfect light) merely a chamber about thirty feet wide, fifteen or eighteen deep, and ten or twelve feet high; one (the most southern) containing three niches or recesses, cut like the whole chamber into the solid rock; the other also three, if in this gloomy cavern of which the floor was deeply covered with stagnant water, my hasty glance did not deceive me. Chardin (Tome IX, 95, 101) has described both Tombs; and Le Brun has delineated the inside of one, (Voyage, &c. Pl. 159). Another portion of this chapter will offer to the reader my account of a similar tomb at *Naksh i Rustam*, which I entered and minutely examined. It is therefore unnecessary that in this place we should dwell longer on the subject of sepulchral monuments, than whilst one is indicated which seems to

On my second visit (in July), this opening was partly cleared by the scratching of a dog, and afterwards enlarged by some of the artillery-men who attended our Embassy, so that a person might enter creeping with his face to the ground. No other inlet has hitherto been discovered, a circumstance that naturally excites astonishment, if, as Chardin positively affirms, (having examined the tombs most attentively on three different expeditions to Persepolis), there never was a real door where the false one appears. "La porte qui paroît dans la Figure entre les colomnes au milieu de "l'ouvrage, est une *fausse porte*, et une simple representation; *car jmais il n'y eut* "*là de porte.*" (Tome IX, 96). How the chambers were excavated; the tombs and their ponderous lids or covers hewn from the solid rock; and how the royal bodies were introduced, it is difficult even to conjecture. Of Chardin's repeated examinations the result is only an opinion, which he acknowledges to be unsatisfactory, that the real entrance was by a subterraneous passage opening in the floor (or ceiling), and afterwards stopped with so much ingenuity that no traces of the aperture are now discernible. (Tome IX, p. 102). To the subject of stone doors, false and real, I must soon recur. Such are found among the ancient monuments of many countries besides Persia.

have escaped the notice of all travellers before Niebuhr[55]. This resembles in its device of the King, the Fire-altar, the mystick figure and globe, (and if perfect, would probably resemble most exactly in all respects), the Tombs behind the *Takht*, from which it is distant about three quarters of a mile in the mountain, Southward. But several large upright masses of stone which either have been placed near this monument for some architectural purpose, or which it was intended to remove, confirm the suspicion entertained by Niebuhr that it was never finished. Yet to me, on the first view, it appeared more ancient than any of the other Tombs[56]. Besides the two sepulchral chambers, there are, in the mountain immediately behind the *Takht*, a well sunk in the rock, and other excavations of which the original

[55] "Un quart de lieue plus loin vers le sud, et à la même montagne, on a pareillement coupé le rocher et l'escarpé perpendiculairement," &c. (Tome II. p. 125). See also Mr. Morier's very excellent account of this remarkable monument; (Travels, Vol. II, p. 86).

[56] Many large, black and very ugly lizards were among the stones near this tomb when (in May) I first examined it, and attended by an intelligent Persian, explored on foot, (for the greater facility in entering low caverns and narrow fissures), most parts of the mountain two or three miles beyond it. As the existence of this tomb (scarcely one mile distant from the *Takht*) was not known to Europeans before the year 1765, so it is probable, though my researches proved unsuccessful, that monuments similar, or of a different sort, may yet be discovered among the recesses of these mountains, by some more fortunate traveller. Whether this tomb was ever wholly finished and afterwards suffered partial demolition, or whether the original artists left it in its present extraordinary state, I am inclined to think that a minute examination of it might afford considerable assistance towards an explanation of some mysterious circumstances in the other sepulchral monuments.

design has not been clearly ascertained. Some channels, seemingly drains for water, cross the terrace in different directions; they are hollowed in the rock and covered with large flat stones; openings had been made in two or three places by the removal of those stones, and as the channels were without water, I crept in them like others of our party to a considerable distance; they were narrow and so low in many parts, that we could scarcely advance, crawling with our faces almost touching the ground; but we discovered nothing to compensate for the irksomeness and difficulty of such a situation.

V. In this section are offered some negative observations, for which, if future discoveries should prove them erroneous, I must claim the same indulgence that other travellers require, who differing from each other in their respective statements and opinions, cannot possibly be all correct, though we may believe that none have been guilty of wilful misrepresentation([57]).

Among those monuments of antiquity which the *Takht* exhibits, I did not perceive

1. *Any object appearing to be a vestige of the Arsacidan kings.* It seems probable however, that at *Shápúr* before-mentioned,

([57]) Of the contradictory accounts given by various travellers, see some instances quoted in Vol. I. Pref. p. xxii; See also the present Volume, p. 240.

(Vol. I. p. 281); at *Naksh i Rustam*, and at *Raï*, (which I shall hereafter notice); near *Firúzábád*, (where Colonel D'Arcy delineated several fine sculptures); and perhaps in some other places; certain figures of warriors fighting or vanquished, may represent those princes of the Arsacidan family who were overthrown by ARDASHI'R and his son SHA'PU'R, founders of the Sasanian dynasty. Olivier has delineated (Voyage, Tome III), a sculpture at *Bísutún*, which must be Arsacidan; it exhibits the name of ΓΟΤΑΡΖ or ΓΩΤΑΡΖ.

2. Nor *any vestige of the Sasanian dynasty, besides two Pahlavi inscriptions above-mentioned*, (pp. 237, 238), *and engraved in Plate XLII.* But within four or five miles, at *Naksh i Rustam* and *Naksh i Rejeb*, are many sculptured figures of *Sasanian* kings, with *Pahlavi* inscriptions.

3. Nor *any representation of a crooked sword;* it might perhaps be added, nor of any *straight;* for the weapons with which some of the figures appear to stab lions or monsters, and those which others wear suspended from their girdles, are but poniards or daggers([58]). We find, nevertheless, on va-

([58]) This dagger hangs, in the sculptures at Persepolis, on the wearer's right thigh; conformably with the ancient usage described by Herodotus, who informs us, that the Persian soldiers under Xerxes suspended their daggers on the right thigh, from a belt or girdle; *'εγχειρίδια παρα τον δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα εκ της ζώνης.* (VII. 61). It appears from the Onomasticon of Julius Pollux, (lib. I. c. 10), that this Persian dagger or short sword was called *Akinakés.* *Ακινακης, Περσικον ξιφιδιον τι τω μηρῳ προσηρτημενον.*

rious monuments of the Sasanian kings, swords represented as long and straight, (See Plate XXIX). It is probable that crooked swords were not generally used in Persia until after the Arabian conquest, (See Vol. I. p. 290).

4. Nor *any human figure with a full face;* although such is found in some plates that embellish the works of two travellers, generally esteemed for the accuracy of their verbal descriptions. Full faces, however, appear on marble monuments, and gems of Sasanian times; also on a few rare medals of Arsacidan or Parthian, and Sasanian kings([59]).

5. Nor *any human figure mounted on horse-back;* although some travellers have mentioned horsemen among those sculptures([60]). The simple act of mounting on a horse's

([59]) These shall be described in another place. Full faces of Sasanian personages have been already represented in the frontispiece to "Observations on some Medals and Gems," &c. (Lond. 1801). De Thavonat mentions the silver medal of a Parthian king as singularly remarkable in exhibiting the full face. "Parthici regis ex "Arsacidarum stirpe, numum ea parte singulare hic sisto, qua caput regis pleno "adversoque vultu exhibet, quod hactenus non observavi." (Ad Numism. Reg. Veter. Anec. p. 73. Tab. II, fig. 2. Viennæ Austr. 1755). I have seen three or four.

([60]) See "Jos. Barbari Itiner." in Bizari Rerum Pers. Hist. p. 474. Sir T. Herbert's Trav. (3d edit. p. 151). Kæmpf. "Amœnit. Exot. (p. 341), where a man appears in the plate riding on a horse. This misrepresentation I should have supposed one of the numerous faults for which Kæmpfer censured his engraver (morosus et infelicis ingenii sculptor, p. 317); but that he himself seems to have mistaken a man who stands by the side of a horse, for one actually mounted; "Ambitum orditur in ordine "superiori Eques," &c. (p. 339). My testimony must be here given in favour of Le Brun, who had no reason to imagine that any equestrian figure ever existed at the *Takht.* "Il est cependant tres certain qu'il ne se trouve aucune figure a cheval en "cet endroit ni dans toutes les ruines de *Chelminar;* ni la moindre apparence qu'il "y en ait jamais eu." (Voyages, p. 449, Amst. 1718).

back, would naturally seem to have preceded the use of wheel-carriages with their complicated harness. Yet such are found at Persepolis, (See Pl. XLV ; also Morier's Travels, Vol. II. p. 114 ; and the Plates of Chardin, Le Brun, and Niebuhr); and we know that Homer's heroes were drawn in chariots, from which they sometimes descended to combat on foot ; but the poet has not described them as fighting on horseback([61]). The absence of mounted figures might authorize an opinion that those sculptures had been executed before the time of Cyrus, whose precept and example first inspired the Persians with a fondness for equestrian exercises, of which, until his time, they had been almost wholly ignorant ; for in their mountainous country it was difficult either to feed or to ride horses, and few, indeed, had been ever seen there([62]). But Cyrus desired that his Persian troops should seem a race of Hippocentaurs ; he furnished them with horses, and they soon deemed it dis-

([61]) Yet the Trojan Monarch, Priam himself, is represented on a precious vase of most ancient workmanship, as mounted on horseback ; his name, written over him, leaving no doubt of the person intended. (See Millin's Monum. Inedits. Tome II. p. 78). And a hero, by M. Millin (ib.) pronounced to be indubitably Theseus, who flourished before the war of Troy, appears as an equestrian warrior fighting against Amazons, on another most ancient and valuable vase, of which the painting is supposed to have been executed after a design of Phidias.

([62]) Εν περσαις γαρ δια το χαλεπον ειναι και τρεφειν ιππους και ιππευειν εν ορεινη ουση τη χωρα, και ιδειν ιππον παγυ σπανιον ην. Xenoph. Cyrop. Lib. I. p. 8, Lond. 1764).

graceful to make even the shortest march on foot; for so he had ordained(63).

6. Nor *any figure of a woman.* In the article immediately preceding I confirmed the testimony of Le Brun, but must here dissent from his opinion respecting the figures which he regards as females; those behind the king or chief, holding an umbrella, and a fly-flapper or some thing similar over his head, at the first sight, it may be confessed, appeared to me as women. Niebuhr also imagined one to be a female(64). But after frequent inspection I would pronounce them either beardless youths, or men, whose faces, (the marble having been injured) no longer exhibit their beards. A female figure has been already described among sculptures near *Shíráz*, (p. 48); and another is visible at *Naksh i Rustam;* Among the monuments also near *Kirmánsháh;* and on several medals and gems with *Pahlavi* inscriptions, females are discovered; and two figures at *Naksh i Rejeb* wear a very feminine aspect; but all these are of the Sasanian times, and may be reckoned modern in comparison with the Persepolitan sculptures. Winkelmann declares that figures of women are not

(63) Αισχρον ειναι οις αν ιππους εγω πορισω, αν τις φανη πεζη ημων πορευομενος, εαν τε πολλην εαν τε ολιγην οδον δεη διελθειν ινα και πανταπασιν ιπποκενταυρους οιωνται ημας οι ανθρωποι ειναι. (Xenoph. Cyrop. Lib. IV. p. 98).

(64) See "Voyages de Le Brun," p. 273, 274, Pl. 143, 148, 152, 153. Niebuhr, Voyages, Tome II, p. 120).

seen on the ancient monuments of the Persians(65). They occur, however, on cylindrical gems, found mostly in the region of Babylon, though often styled Persepolitan. (See Vol. I. p. 424).

7. Nor *any sculpture representing ships, or alluding to naval or marine affairs.* Whatever vessels the Persians may have used for commercial purposes on that gulf which separates their coast from Arabia, they do not appear, on classical authority, to have had any ships of war until the descendants of Cyrus invaded countries bordering on the Mediterranean sea; and even then, they employed ships and sailors procured for the occasion in Cyprus, Egypt, Phœnicia, and neighbouring provinces which they had rendered tributary. Navigation could have been but little practised by the Persians while their religion taught them that it was impious to contaminate rivers or the sea, even by spitting. (Herodot. I. 138. Plin. Nat. Hist. XXX, 2). Some rare Oriental Manuscripts furnish anecdotes respecting the naval affairs of Persia in early ages; but this subject must be resumed hereafter.

8. Nor *any arches*; although several appear in that extraordinary View of Persepolis etched by the celebrated Hollar, and already noticed, (Vol. I. pref. p. xxiii), as partly the

(65) "On ne voit point de figures de femmes sur les monumens des Perses." Hist. de l'Art de l'Antiq. Tome I. p. 126, (Leipzig, 1781).

offspring of imagination; it illustrates the Travels of Sir Thomas Herbert, (third edition, 1665). One arch, also, is erroneously represented in the View given by Heer Herbert de Jager, in Valentyn's Dutch Collection of Voyages, (Vol. V. 221), a large and handsome engraving, of which, however, this is not the only fault. The doors and windows at the *Takht* are constructed as in Pl. XLI, fig. 7. It is probable that arches were not introduced into the works of Persian Princes until the third or fourth century. Morier has delineated one among the ruins of *Shápúr;* others are found in the mountain near *Kirmánsháh*, (See Olivier); and according to Ives's view, the palace of Chosroes or KHUSRAU, now called *Ták i Kesra*, (about twenty miles from *Baghdád)*, still exhibits a multiplicity of arches.

9. Nor *any human figure sitting cross-legged, or resting on the knees and heels, according to modern usage in Persia.* The only figure represented sitting is the king; he appears on several pilasters, (See Pl. XLI, fig. 8). His chair is very high, and he sits in the European manner. So on a chair which from its height and antique fashion strongly reminded me of this, I saw the reigning Monarch of Persia sit during a ceremony of which an account shall be given in its proper place.

10. Nor *any human figure in a state of nudity;* and I may add, nor *any object in the slightest degree indecent;* two cir-

cumstances which almost peculiarly distinguish these Persepolitan sculptures from the monuments of Antiquity found in other countries(66).

11. Nor *any vestiges either of wood or of brick.* Babylonian and Egyptian remains sufficiently prove the extreme antiquity and durability of brick. Wood also has been found nearly perfect in very ancient monuments(67). We may suppose that beams and boards originally formed a part of JEMSHI'D's *Takht;* and even that some had escaped the injuries of time and of fire; but it can hardly be imagined that the peasants would have allowed them to decay among the ruins, in a country where trees are exceedingly scarce. Regarding the *Takht* as Darius's Palace described by Curtius, and the account of its destruction by fire as au-

(66) On one of the tombs at *Naksh i Rustam,* Thevenôt's engraving represents a naked figure, resembling our Cupid; but this was a mistake as has been above remarked, (p. 270). Chardin having described the mystick figure so frequent among the ruins, (See Pl. XLI, 8, 15, 16), acknowledges that he mistook it, on his first journey to Persia, for a winged child, fastened to a cross, and encompassed by a serpent. But as the figure is small and at a considerable elevation, this was merely an errour of the eye; (Tome ix. p. 84). Thevenôt might have offered the same excuse. But the Satyr and other monstrous forms appearing in the "Beautez de la Perse," (Fig. III, Pl. p. 60) are absolutely creatures of imagination.

(67) By many hundred years more ancient than the *Ták Kesra* (طاق كسري) or Palace of the Persian kings near *Baghdád;* a magnificent edifice which was pillaged in the seventh and dismantled in the eighth century; yet on one of its lofty walls two enterprising Americans having lately climbed with much difficulty, found some remains of Indian *Teak* wood, which had been used in the construction, and was still perfectly sound. Of this they took a piece to Bombay, where it was examined by an English gentleman from whom I learned the circumstance.

thèntick, various travellers have expected to find upon the marble some traces of conflagration; from the very durable nature of charcoal we might, perhaps, as reasonably hope to discover fragments of carbonized cedar([68]).

12. Nor *any remains of gilding*. Yet some of our old travellers positively affirm that they saw gold still fresh upon many objects in the *Takht*([69]). We know that the Greeks and Romans disfigured (according to our refined taste) many of their noblest statues by gilding and painting. Those which once decorated the Parthenon at Athens, were originally gilded and painted, as Dr. Clarke informs us, (Trav. III. p. 147); and we learn from Maffei, Winkelmann, Ernesti and others, that the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, the Apollo and the Hercules of the Capitol, the four horses of Venice, and many admirable fragments besides, retain vestiges of gilding; which, it is even said, the Medicean Venus still exhibits in her hair. As Sir Thomas Herbert above quoted, mentions gold upon the Persepolitan friezes, so Lusieri and Fauvel, eminent for their successful

([68]) The Cedar which formed a considerable portion of this Royal Palace, soon caught and widely communicated the flames; "Multa cedro ædificata erat regia; quæ, "celeriter igne concepto, late fudit incendium." (Q. Curt. Lib. V. c. 7).

([69]) "In other some places," says Herbert, (Trav, p. 152. 3d. edit. 1665), "the "gold also that was laid upon the freez and cornish, as also upon the trim of vests, "was also in as perfect lustre as if it had been but newly done." Daulier says of the inscriptions, "Il paroist encor à plusieurs de ces caracteres qu'ils ont esté dorez." (Beaut. de la Perse, p, 61); See also Chardin, (T. IX, p. 107), and Kæmpfer, (p. 338).

researches in Greece, believe that the frieze of the Parthenon had been gilded and painted([70]). Suspecting that the Greeks might have learned this bad taste from the Persians, in whose buildings it was reasonable to suppose a profusion of barbarick ornament, I sought throughout the *Takht* those traces of gilding mentioned by former travellers; but am inclined to think, (for at first it deceived myself), that what they have described as gold, is a certain yellowish substance resembling thick oil-paint or varnish, become extremely hard; this shines in many places as if polished, so that when viewed at a distance in full sunshine, it wears a metallick appearance. Some pieces of the Persepolitan marble in my collection are partially coated with this yellow substance; particularly those bearing the inscriptions marked 6, 10, 11, 13, and 17, in Pl. XLVII. It is found also, on different parts of some few figures, window-frames and door-ways, in irregular patches and stripes, where it scarcely

([70]) See Haygarth's "Greece," p. 233. He thinks that a passage of Euripides may allude to some golden ornament on the frieze; (Iph. in Taur. 128). "ενστυλων Ναων χρυσηρεις Φριγκους;" and that the Φριγκος of Alcinous's palace (Odyss. VII. 87), described as blue or azure, was the frieze. In support of this ingenious author's opinion, I may here refer to the account, given by Millin, of a beautiful relief brought from the Parthenon, where it ornamented the frieze. It is of Pentelick marble, and represents two men and six women. In some places it was found to have been covered with paint; the ground being blue, the hair and different parts of the bodies gilded. (Monum. Inedits. Tome II. p. 48). On the ancient custom of painting statues, tombs, and temples among various nations, many excellent remarks are offered by Mr. Walpole in his "Memoirs on Europ. and Asiat. Turkey," p. 378, et seq. (4to. 1817).

could have been ornamental, and appears almost as the effect of accident(71). No traces either of gold or of paint were visible on the figures which Mr. Morier's workmen brought to light in May (1811), when, with him, I examined them, and should have almost imagined, from their fresh and perfect state, that they had been newly executed. It is probable that the accumulated rubbish from which these sculptures were then cleared, had concealed and preserved them above two thousand years. Mr. Morier has noticed them in his "Second Journey" (p. 75); and I can vouch for the accuracy of a delineation which he made on the spot, and with which, there is reason to hope, he will soon gratify the publick.

13. Nor *any insulated statue, or sculptured figure separated from the general mass of marble, and showing in full relief the entire form of any object.* I do not here allude to whatever figures rested on the columns before-mentioned, (p. 258), but to the sculptures on the staircases, doorways, pilasters, and other parts of the *Takht;* also at the tombs; all of which

(71) M. D'Hancarville imagined that the letters of inscriptions had been gilded, so as to become more legible from their contrast with the black marble; (Rech. sur les Antiq. de la Perse, p. 147). He quotes Chardin, who says "L'on diroit que ces "lettres auroient été dorées; car il y en a plusieurs, et surtout des Majuscules, où "il paroît encore de l'or," (T. IX. p. 107). But as far as my observations extended, the yellow paint or size, wheresoever it appeared on inscriptions, covered the smooth surface of the marble, but had not, in any instance, entered the hollow or body of the letters.

are low reliefs; few projecting above two inches from the level surface of the marble. It has been already observed, (Vol. I. p. 294), that the fallen statue of SHA'PU'R, (See Pl. XIX), was probably (in Persia) the only representation of a human form, so detached by the original artist from a mass of stone that the spectator might walk round it as an insulated column.

14. Nor *any figure that has ever actually been an object of idolatrous veneration.* In the third chapter it was shown, on very high authority, that the ancient Persians abhorred the worship of images. Yet some travellers have fancied that the Persepolitan columns may have supported idols([72]), and others have compared the *Takht* and its sculptures to an Indian Pagoda with its horrible divinities([73]); while that

([72]) See Chardin (T. IX. p. 76), who mentions this rather as the opinion of others than his own. Daulier Deslandes supposes idols on the columns, as quoted, p. 262.

([73]) Sir T. Herbert describes, "an image of monstrous shape; for albeit the body "be like a man, he has dragon's claws instead of hands, and in other parts is deform-"ed; so that doubtless it was an idol, and not unlike some *Pagotha's* I have seen "amongst the *Brachmans* in the Mogul's country, all which are of as ugly a shape "as can be imagined." (Trav. p. 153, 3d edit). He also describes (p 156), "the "image of their grand *Pagotha*; a Dæmon of an uncouth and ugly shape" and "of a gigantive size," "discovering a most dreadfull visage 'twixt man and beast;" a large maw under his chin; seven arms on each side, and vulture's claws, &c.; these arms he thinks may signify on one side "the terrene power and dominion those kings "had over so many kingdomes or provinces; and the other a mysterious type of the "seven great planets," &c. From this description Hollar has delineated in a plate above noticed, (p. 232), the uncouth and ugly Dæmon; but whatever figure may have deceived Herbert, none even resembling this can now be discovered, nor, in my opinion, ever existed among the sculptures of Persepolis. Tavernier having men-

extraordinary work, the *Dabistán*, seems to indicate JEMSHI'D's Throne as a stupendous Idol-temple, in which, under various forms, the Planets were adored above seven thousand years ago([74]).

The winged circle or mystical figure, perceived on so many marbles of the ruins, and the fire-altar at the tombs, relate undoubtedly to objects once held in veneration; but we must not suppose that any sanctity was attributed to those sculptures themselves more than to similar devices on gems and medals. The heroes who combat lions or griffins may allude to historical or fabulous achievements of illustrious personages; or may possess some recondite signification; the monstrous quadrupeds also at the gate-way, the sphinxes, unicorns, lotoses, cypresses, and other sculptures may be, at once, symbolical and ornamental([75]). But in the

tioned the columns and chambers, (Voyages, Lib. V. p. 729), says, "tout cela ensemble "persuadant aisément a ceux qui ont veû comme moi les principales Pagodes des "Indes, que j'ay bien considerées, que Tcheelminar n'a esté autrefois qu'un Temple "de faux Dieux."

([74]) See the "New Asiatick Miscellany," pp. 121, 125, (Calcutta, 4to. 1789). To the *Dabistán* I must refer more particularly in a future section. Meanwhile I have stated the most moderate calculation; for if the Idol-Temple of *Istakhr*, (or Persepolis), was founded by MAHA'BA'D, (as we read in the *Dabistán*, p. 131, properly 143), its antiquity extends to so many millions of years that the number is scarcely comprehensible, (id. p 101).

([75]) See M. D'Hancarville's fanciful theory of the "Soleil Diurne," and "Soleil Nocturne," represented by the great quadrupeds at the gate-way. The lion devouring an ox or bull, is the triumph or resurrection of the *diurnal* sun. The human

greater number of figures, the monarch and his attendants, the ranks of soldiers, the charioteers, the men who lead horses, oxen, camels, rams, or other beasts, and those who carry in their hands various articles of ambiguous appearance, I can discover nothing more than representations, probably accurate in the most minute details, of real ceremonies and processions. As to the figures which crowned the columns, I would suppose, judging from their present remains, that they had been heads and fore-parts of beasts, projecting, like the capitals at the tombs, (See Pl. XLI. fig. 20), so as to exceed considerably in width the cylindrical shafts, and thereby support more conveniently the beams of a roof or ceiling.

15. Nor *certain combinations of the elementary character* 𐎡, *that appear in inscriptions on bricks, cylindrical gems, and different remnants of antiquity found near Babylon.* Such as that combination with which many of the Babylonian inscriptions begin, ; also and others more or less complicated, although equally belonging to the arrow-headed, nail-headed, or cuneiform alphabet.

The reader will easily believe that this catalogue of negative remarks might have been considerably augmented, when

figure which stabs a lion or griffin is the *nocturnal* sun, armed with the poniard of Mithras; and that personage whom common eyes generally regard as the king, is no less than the Divinity himself, according to this ingenious Antiquary, ("Rech. sur les Ant. de la Perse," at the end of "Rech. sur les Arts de la Grèce").

he considers the great extent of those stupendous ruins; the seeming anomalies of their plan; the extraordinary style of their architecture; the labyrinths or narrow passages which have been excavated with much art in the adjacent mountain, and of which no traveller has yet ascertained either the termination, or the mysterious design(76); the multiplicity of ornamental devices on the ruins; and, above all, of the human figures which their sculptures exhibit; amounting, by a moderate calculation, to above twelve hundred; those representing beasts of different kinds being probably almost one hundred(77).

(76) Chardin appears to have ventured in these tempting excavations beyond any other European. One of those near the Tombs into which I advanced until stagnant water and foul air rendered further progress almost impossible, leads to a talismanick diamond; this, with the assistance of a most vigilant dragon, guards such inestimable treasures as baffle all description. A Persian who, two or three centuries ago, had crept through this subterraneous labyrinth and obtained one momentary glance at the *charkh almás* (چرخ الماس) or "Diamond of Fate," was so terrified and astonished at the vision, that he expired on his return to the entrance before he could relate half the wonders of the cavern. I have reason to suspect that a neighbouring passage has been, within some few years, purposely obstructed with masses of stone, lest the treasures might become a prey to European infidels.

(77) This was the result of observations made at perfect leisure by Le Brun, who passed three months (in 1704) among the ruins, (Voyage, pp. 279, 452). Daulier Deslandes, after a hasty inspection, believed that the number of reliefs exceeded two thousand. (Beaut. de la Perse, p. 62). Niebuhr thinks that Le Brun has not exaggerated in stating the figures of men and beasts to be thirteen hundred. (Voyage, Tome II. p. 122). It is probable that twice this number have been destroyed or removed; some used in the walls of neighbouring villages; and others taken to a greater distance, as the doors at *Mader i Suleimán* near *Shíráz*, (See p. 41); which Niebuhr (II. p. 116) believed to have once ornamented the edifice marked L in my plan, (Pl. XLI); several are preserved in European cabinets; and many yet remain at the *Takht* concealed in rubbish.

Such is my feeble attempt to describe what I could but imperfectly examine during part of two days in May, and of three in July; monuments among which an individual should reside uninterruptedly for several weeks, if desirous of making accurate measurements and delineations of all the interesting objects; a task he could hardly execute in less than two months according to Kæmpfer([78]); while Herbert, in a passage before quoted, (Vol. I. pref. p. xxiii), would "allow twice two moneths," even to an "expert limbner" "ere he can make a perfect draught;" Mandelslo, notwithstanding the general ruin of Persepolis, declares that there is "yet as much left as would find work for a good able "painter for six months"([79]); and Chardin extends this period to a year or more([80]).

That I have not exaggerated the wonders of JEMSHI'D'S Throne, will be evident on a reference to the accounts given by most respectable persons of various countries, who in different ages have visited its ruins. Not only youthful travellers glowing with lively imaginations, but those of sober judgment matured by the experience of many years, seem, as they approach this venerable monument, to be inspired

([78]) "Ei vix bimestris in loco mora suffecerit," Amœnit.Exot. p. 335.

([79]) See "Mandelslo's Travels" p. 5; (English translation by Davies, Lond. 1662, folio).

([80]) "Il m 'auroit fallu demeurer un an et plus sur le lieu,"&c. Tome IX. (p. 81).

by the genius of Eastern romance; and their respective languages scarcely furnish epithets capable of expressing with adequate energy the astonishment and admiration excited by such a stupendous object([81]).

([81]) It is the "grande & antichissima fabrica," of Della Valle, (Lettera XV, Ottob. 21, 1621); the "Mervellous Structure," of which the "walls in their perfection "doubtless expressed an unspeakable majesty, and an unparallell'd;" that "incom-"parable structure which has so far the precedency, that *Don Garcias de Sylva* "*Figueroa*, (Ambassador *Anno Dom.* 1619, to *Shaw Abbas* from *Philip* the third of "*Spain*), upon his view, not onely prefers it before all he saw at *Rome*, but con-"cludes, that it is undoubtedly the only monument in the world at this day without "imposture; yea, far exceeding (says he) all other miracles of the earth, we can "either see or hear of at this day. Give me leave therefore to add, that here (where "I may say *Materiam superabat opus*, the materials are rich but much more esti-"mable the workmanship). Nature and art seem to conspire towards the creating "amazement and pleasure both in sence and intellect; the present ruines retaining "such a majesty," &c. (Herbert's Trav. pp. 117, 153, 156, 3d. edit). It is the "august place," vast fabrick of extraordinary elegance and workmanship; noble ca-"verns with stately sculptures,"—"an admirable piece overlooking all the plain," so quaintly described by Fryer, (pp. 251, 252). The "fameux monument," the "plus superbes et plus fameuses masures de l'antiquité," the "magnifiques restes," "auguste edifice," precieux monument," incomparable," &c. of Chardin, who talks with rapture of its "merveilleuses colomnes," its "grand et merveilleux chœur," and other parts, declaring "enfin je n'ai jamais rien vû ni conçû de si grand ni de si "magnifique," (Tome IX. pp. 50, 51, 52, 75, 77, 154, Rouen, 1723). Of the Persepolitan ruins Thevenôt says that they "effectivement sont aujourd'hui en Perse ce que "sont les Pyramides en Egypte, c'est a dire ce qu'il y a de plus beau a voir en son "genre et plus digne d'être remarqué," (Voyages, Tome IV. p. 498, Amst. 1727). See also the "fameuses ruines,"—"un des plus beaux restes de l'antiquitè, tout y est "magnifique," &c. of Daulier Deslandes, (Beaut. de la Perse, pp. 55, 62). The "operis "magnificentiam,"—"insolitam magnitudinem," ædificia plura ac splendidissima,"&c, of Kæmpfer, (pp. 330, 334). Father Angelo pronounces the Persepolitan monuments "Romæ collisæo longe præstantiora," (Gazoph. Pers. p. 283); and they are enthusiastically praised by Mandelslo, Le Brun, Niebuhr, Francklin and every other traveller except Tavernier and Ferrières Sauveboeuf, respecting whose dissentient opinions I shall offer some remarks in the Appendix.

Many learned Europeans who in their closets have coolly examined the relations of those travellers, appear equally to entertain the most exalted ideas of Persepolis; and Oriental writers sufficiently evince their opinion of its antiquity and beauty, when they declare it the work of CAIUMERS, (whom some confound with Adam); or of preternatural beings employed by king Solomon; or even of spirits supposed to have existed long before the creation of man.

VI. But as any conjectures or observations that might here be offered on the history of those remains, would seem equally applicable to others in their vicinity, I reserve them for a subsequent portion of this chapter, which, under the general title of Persepolis, comprehends the ample territory of that ancient capital, the plain of *Marvdasht* or *Istakhr*. Here the traveller who has not leisure for a minute examination of every object, passes, in many places, fragments of marble columns, door-ways, and other vestiges indicating structures conformable in style to those of JEMSHI'D's Throne. He glances at various small niches cut in the rock, and so high that it is difficult to imagine how they were made or for what purpose; but his attention is powerfully attracted when, having proceeded northward about two miles, he arrives at *Naksh i Rejeb*; and must be fixed when he advances, and beholds the tombs and sculptures at *Naksh i Rustam*, distant from the *Takht* nearly four miles, or perhaps four and a half; the road being occasionally more or less

circuitous, according to the state of those streams which intersect the plain and which it is necessary to cross.

The recess called *Naksh i Rejeb* (نقش رجب) "the portrait "or representation of REJEB"(82), is a chamber cut in the rock but open at top; the face opposite its entrance, and that on each side, exhibit numerous figures, one of which is supposed to represent the imaginary hero REJEB, or RAJAB as the name is here pronounced. The sculptures, however, are all memorials of the early kings descended from SA'SA'N (ساسان); particularly of ARDASHI'R and his son SHA'PU'R, who are easily recognized from the resemblance to their heads on medals and other monuments. Of four tablets sculptured in the solid rock, that on the left of a person entering the recess, represents SHA'PU'R on horseback, with nine attendants or guards on foot, as in Niebuhr's Plate XXXII, fig. 1, (Tome II), and Morier's Plate XX, (Vol. I). These travellers have also delineated (Nieb. ibid. fig. B; Morier, Vol. I. Plate XIX), another large tablet, which expresses, in my opinion unequivocally, the participation of regal power between ARDASHI'R and SHA'PU'R. As my

(82) The Arabick word *Naksh* (نقش) signifies a representation either painted or sculptured; and has deceived the learned Bryant, more celebrated for his skill in mythology than for success in etymological inquiries. He traces it through *Nachi*, *Necho*, *Negus*, *Anaco*, &c. to *Anac*, signifying (like the Greek Ανακ) a chief or king; thus *Nacki Rustan*, (properly *Rustam*), says he, signifies the lord or prince Rustan, (Anc. Mythol. Vol. I. p. 90. 3d. edit).

sketch, on comparison with the engravings above-quoted, seemed to differ from them in some slight circumstances, I offer it to the reader, such as it is, (See Pl. XLVIII, fig. 1), not presuming, however, on any superior accuracy([83]). Of the other two tablets my delineations are probably the first hitherto (1819) consigned to the engraver. One (Pl. XLVIII, fig. 2), alludes to the participation of empire between two horsemen, perhaps the same illustrious personages who in fig. 1, appear on foot; and the other tablet (fig. 3) shows the bust of a man who points with his finger to a *Pahlavi* inscription of several lines beautifully cut and apparently uninjured; but so high above the spectator that without a ladder or some such means of elevation, it would have been scarcely possible to copy the letters. A bush partly conceals this sculpture; and two or three gentlemen acknowledged to me that on their first visit it had altogether escaped their notice. An exact copy of the inscription would be a most desirable object.

The first-mentioned tablet contains three inscriptions; two on the breast of SHA'PU'R's horse, and one near it on

([83]) To this fine sculpture I alluded in Vol. I, (p. 350), as perhaps indicating retrospectively or episodically by the small figures, that memorable game of *chúgán* which SHA'PU'R whilst a child and of suspected birth, played with other boys, in the presence of ARDASHI'R, when, by a display of boldness he proved himself that monarch's son, and was soon after admitted to a share in the imperial dignity, as we learn from TABRI, FIRDAUSI, and many subsequent writers. This participation of empire is commemorated on other sculptures and on medals; (See Vol. I, p. 265); and shall again be noticed in the Appendix to this volume.

the smooth rock. These are engraved in the Miscellaneous (or last) Plate of this Volume, (Nos. 21, 19, 20), although my copies may not perhaps be more accurate than those made by Niebuhr, (Tome II, Pl. XXVII. F. G. H); and so ingeniously deciphered by M. de Sacy, (Mem. sur div. Antiq. de la Perse); but since they vary in the forms of certain letters and in the position of a word, it seemed adviseable to give them as traced by myself on the spot. In the 15th Article of the Appendix, which explains the Miscellaneous Plate, some remarks are offered respecting these inscriptions.

We now proceed to the place absurdly called, like many others in Persia exhibiting the figures of chiefs or warriors, *Naksh i Rustam* (نقش رستم) "the portrait of RUSTAM," a hero most celebrated in the Romances of this country. Here, on the rock which has been smoothed perpendicularly, we behold four fronts of tombs resembling generally those at the *Takht*; also various tablets of different dimensions. The entrances into those tombs appear to be from thirty to forty feet above the level ground; and were probably excavated by the same race of kings who constructed the *Takht*; but the chisel has also been actively employed to commemorate princes of a later dynasty; for on tablets under the tombs, and others near them, we discover many interesting figures of the Sassanians; larger than the natural size, like those at *Naksh i Rejeb*; and in spirited relief though some much in-

jured. It would seem that the more modern artists took advantage of the labour bestowed by their predecessors in smoothing the rock; and chose this conspicuous situation to celebrate the glory of ARDASHI'R, whom I regard as one of the two personages on horseback, holding between them the royal diadem, and delineated by Kæmpfer, Le Brun, Niebuhr and Morier. The other mounted personage, in my opinion, represents SHA'PU'R, who in this tablet receives from his father a share in the supreme dominion, and whom I recognize in two equestrian combats, (See Kæmpfer, p. 318, 320, and Morier, Vol. I. Pl. XVI and XVII); also in the conqueror who bestows mercy on a suppliant captive, perhaps a Roman, (See Le Brun, Pl. 168, and Niebuhr, Tab. xxxiii). Indeed the names of Artaxares and Sapores, ARTAHSHETR and SHA'PU'HRI) are sufficiently manifest in some Greek and *Pahlavi* inscriptions at this place([84]).

To these illustrious founders of the Sassanian dynasty we may add their descendant BAHRA'M (or VARAHRA'N), who seems distinguished on one tablet by his winged crown; and an inscription, near the figure of a king, presents his name most legibly expressed in *Pahlavi* characters [illegible] (VARAHRA'N). This remarkable inscription consists of at least one hundred and twenty very long lines; but many

([84]) Deciphered and fully illustrated (after Niebuhr's copy) by M. de Sacy in the "Mem. sur div. Antiq. de la Perse."

have been nearly obliterated; I copied, however, besides the name of VARAHRA'N, those imperfect sentences, and unconnected words, (or parts of words), which are given in the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 17, regretting that the want of time would not allow me to make an entire transcript of what, perhaps, may justly be considered as the most considerable, and even in its defaced condition, the finest specimen of pure Sassanian *Pahlavi*. My pencilled sketch of one tablet which contains a female figure, has been accidentally torn, and in some parts effaced; but enough remains to show that it did not wholly agree with the delineation made by Kæmpfer, (p. 321), nor with Le Brun's (Pl. 169). It represents the cap of him who stands behind the king or principal male personage as in the Miscellaneous Plate, (fig. 16). To these tablets the earliest date that I would assign is the third century; whilst the four tombs above them appear to me coeval with the *Takht*, and by many hundred years more ancient than the Sassanian sculptures. These Tombs so nearly resemble each other that the little sketch of one (Pl. XLVIII, fig. 6) will give a general idea of all; and prove that they agree in almost every respect with the sepulchral monuments at the *Takht*, (See Pl. XLI, fig. 19). A peasant who attended Colonel D'Arcy and me during our visit at *Naksh i Rustam*, informed us that two or three years before, he had assisted an English gentleman (Captain Sutherland, as we afterwards learned) in ascending to one of the tombs,

and exploring its recesses. Yet the difficulty and danger of this undertaking, have induced most travellers to content themselves with gazing at objects so high in the perpendicular face of a rock, that the entrance into the lowest excavation is probably thirty feet above a person on the ground(85).

To us it appeared that the least difficult of access would be the last Tomb on the left, opposite an extraordinary square edifice (hereafter described) and over one of the tablets representing an equestrain combat. Up to the low and narrow doorway of this tomb, we were, but not without much trouble, dragged by our servants; for they climbing circuitously had ascended to the summit of the mountain and thence let down a rope to which was fastened the long silk sash of Colonel D'Arcy who first entered the excavation. I followed by the same means;

(85) Pietro della Valle thought it impossible to reach the tombs without a ladder, "in alto dove senza scala non si potrebbe andare." (Lett. XV. 1621). Fryer was satisfied "to stare on them from beneath, they being fit only for *Atlasses*, or for wing-"ed folk to look into; there being no passage to them," &c. (Trav. p. 253). Chardin did not himself enter them, but he encouraged a servant "qui etoit hardi et reso-"lu," by a promise of "trois ecus," to climb up and examine one of the sepulchres; "on y entre en baissant la tête sur les genoux. Nul Europeén n'y est jamais entré, que "je sache; cela aussi est tres difficile, parce que la brèche est environ a trente pieds "du rez de chaussée et que la montagne est fort roide et droite partout," &c. (Tome IX.. p. 126, Rouen 1723). Le Brun was very desirous of exploring them himself, but, says he, "je trouvai la chose trop hazardeuse et ne pus me resoudre a l'en-"treprendre." (Voyages, p. 283). Niebuhr also thought the ascent too dangerous, "qu'on ne sauroit y grimper sans danger de perdre la vie," &c. (Tome II. p. 127, Amst. 1780).

and found myself in a chamber, thirty five feet long according to my measuring-tape; seven feet broad at each end; eight in the middle; its plan being as delineated in Pl. XLVIII, fig. 8. This measurement does not include the depth of three arches or recesses, hollowed like the chamber itself in the solid rock, and forming sepulchral vaults, each nine feet long, and five feet and a half broad. The sketch given in Plate XLVIII, fig. 7, will show the form of those recesses, the immense slabs, all of the same rock, which cover the vaults, (and which it would have been impossible to lift or even move without the assistance of several men), and the fracture in one vault made probably by the violators of these tombs, who, we may suppose, while taking out the body in search of treasure, raised and propped the stone cover until, having accomplished their object, they let it fall in its original situation. Through the aperture it was easy to ascertain that this vault contained nothing more than some pieces of stone, and we must naturally suspect that the other two had been rifled; yet from their present appearance I should not think myself justified in affirming that such spoliation had ever occurred. Within this chamber, of which the ceiling is arched like the recesses, (and about ten feet where highest), all parts are of the plainest execution; we could not discover one letter of an inscription; not one figure, not even a stroke of the chisel that might be reckoned ornamental;

the sole inlet perceptible to us, (for some have imagined a more secret entrance) was the little doorway. From this we descended by the same means that had raised us.

To our Persian companion I now applied for information respecting the other tombs; of those, he believed, the second and third had been explored; but he declared that according to local tradition, the fourth, or last on the right of a person approaching the mountain, was still replete with treasures, as originally deposited; its greater elevation and other circumstances of peculiar difficulty, having rendered vain all the efforts of those who endeavoured to enter it.

The next object of our examination was a remarkable edifice, (See Pl. XLVIII, fig. 5), opposite to the Tomb from which we had descended. It is a square of twenty two or twenty three feet, each face; and nearly thirty feet high; constructed of white marble in a most substantial manner. Of the flat roof one great stone has been dislodged from its place by the violence of man or of an earthquake, and now projects near a corner of the front wall, or that facing the mountain. Some violence, also, has effected a considerable fissure in the lower part of that front wall, immediately under a small doorway, up to which we climbed about eleven feet from the ground, and introduced ourselves, not very easily, into a square chamber, twelve feet three inches in length

and width, and probably twenty feet high. The light entering at this doorway, (and there is not any other aperture) enabled us to perceive that the walls were without sculptures or ornaments whatsoever; and the only inscriptions visible were some names scratched by European travellers, chiefly members of our own embassy. If confidence might be placed in recollection, assisted by a half-obliterated note pencilled within an hour after my visit to this chamber, I would describe the ceiling as composed of two, and only two, immense marble slabs. In the front wall, externally, are many small oblong perpendicular niches; and a multiplicity of the same sized niches, besides a few of larger dimensions resembling windows, appear in each of the other three faces; but none sink deep into the stone; nor, consequently, can they ever have admitted either light or air.

For this extraordinary building as for most of their ancient monuments, the Persians readily find a name; our guide called it the *Kerennái Kháneh* (کرناي خانه) or "Station of the Trumpets;" another man, the *Nakáreh Kháneh* (نقاره خانه) or "Kettle-drum house," and the *Ked Khudá* before mentioned, (p. 191), assured me that it was the *Caabah* of ZARA'TUSHT, or Zoroaster(86).

(86) This edifice would naturally suggest, to a Muhammedan, the idea of that celebrated house or Temple at Mecca, the *Caabah*, so called from its cubical form, كعبه signifying a die; and held in religious veneration by pious *Muselmáns*. See

Not far distant are two solid objects, (See Pl. XLVIII, fig. 4), which Kæmpfer (p. 308) supposes to have served as beacons; and Le Brun (Pl. 171) strangely entitles "deux "petits edifices;" they are evidently formed from a protuberance of the rock itself; each is about five feet and a half high, and has a cavity at the top which to me appeared so well adapted as a receptacle for the sacred fire, that I have not hesitated in a former page (254), to style them altars(87). The eminence from which they rise is called *Sang i Suleimán* (سنگ سلیمان) the "Stone or Rock of Solomon."

As my conjectures respecting the square edifice above described, with its numerous niches and false windows; the sepulchral excavations opposite; and other monuments considered throughout this chapter as vestiges of Persepolis, are founded not merely on personal inspection of those remains, but on the accounts of that celebrated

Sale's account and view of the *Caaba*, in his excellent Preliminary Discourse to the English translation of the *Korán*. It is supposed to have been erected by Abraham; but the Temple of Mecca appears on good authority as a place of idolatrous worship many centuries before MUHAMMED.

(87) Pietro della Valle calls them *pedestals*; and thinks that in the hollow of their summits, might have been preserved the ashes of some human bodies; but he allows that his memory could not furnish any passage in which the burning of their dead was recorded as a custom of the Persians. He perceived that the two rudely carved *pedestals* were unseparated portions of the native rock. "I due piedestalli, che io "diceva così vicini uno all altro, son pezzi indivisi della medesima rocca del monte "là proprio, a scarpello rozzamente tagliati." (Lett. XV. Ottob. 21, 1621).

city given by various writers; it seems expedient that a brief examination of those accounts should precede any statement of my own conjectures or opinions.

VII. Returning, therefore, to the principal ruins, I shall here offer some observations on the names which they have born in different ages; a subject which will lead us directly to the History of Persepolis. We find that in the aggregate they form what was sometimes denominated (when Kæmpfer travelled in 1686, and Le Brun in 1704) the *Kháneh i Dárá* (خانه دارا) or "Mansion of Darius;" and Chardin (T. IX. p. 165) alludes to authors who had styled them *Takht i Cai Khusrau* (تخت کیخسرو) the "Throne of CAI KHUSRAU" or Cyrus(88). Their present most popular name, *Takht i Jemshíd* تخت جمشید "The Throne of JEMSHI'D," seems to have superseded only within seventy or eighty years, that by which the ruins had been commonly designated during many centuries; *Chehil Mináreh* (چهل مناره),

(88) The learned Schikard (in his "*Tarich*, h e. Series Regum Persiæ," p. 45. Tubingæ, 1628), thought it scarcely possible that *Cai-chosrau*, could have been any other than the elder Cyrus; "vix poterit alius esse, quam ipse *Cyrus*, prior sive magnus, &c" and Sir William Jones, (in his "Discourse on the Persians," Asiat. Res. Vol. ii. p 45. Lond. 1801), says "the great *Cyrus*, whom I call, without fear "of contradiction, *Cai-chosrau*; for I shall then only doubt that the *Khosrau* of "*Firdausi*, was the *Cyrus* of the first Greek historian, and the hero of the oldest "political and moral romance, when I doubt that *Louis Quatorze*, and *Lewis the* "*Fourteenth*, were one and the same French king."

"The Forty Steeples," or Spires(89). A writer who flourished between five and six hundred years ago, relating the history of JEMSHI'D, informs us that the city of *Istakhr* was erected by this monarch, (or rather embellished and augmented, for it is described in a former passage as the capital of JEMSHID's ancestors). Such was its strength and beauty, "that," says the historian, "throughout all the regions of the seven climates, no traveller "had ever beheld an edifice equal; and at this day "some remains of it are visible in the round or cylindrical columns, and pillars of those mansions called "*Chehil mináreh*, or the "Forty Spires(90)." This name some writers have thought given at a time when forty columns only remained standing, at least in the Hall marked K, (Pl. XLI, fig. 1); and one traveller, indeed, has adapted

(89) *Minár* (منار) or *Mináreh* (مناره). Those lofty slender towers from which, at stated times, the *Muselmáns* are called to prayers. A column or pillar is more properly expressed in Persian by the word *Sutún* (ستون); and we find JEMSHI'D's ruined palace accordingly styled *Chehil Sutún* (چهل ستون) or the "Forty Columns," in an article hereafter quoted from the MS. Dict. *Burhán Katea.*

(90) كه در هر بقعه از اقاليم سبعه روندكان و اهل سياحت را مثل ان عمارت مشاهده نيفتاده و امروز از رسوم و اطلال ان عمده دور و ستونهاي بيوتات كه چهل مناره خوانند ظاهرست

See the MS. *Táríkh Maajem*, composed about the year 654 (A. D. 1256), according to D'Herbelôt, (Art. *Taríkh Al Moágem*); some accounts state that the author, FAZLALLAH CAZVI'NI, died in 698 (A. D. 1298); but his fellow-countryman AHMED AL GHAFFA'RI declares that he composed the *Maajem* under a prince of *Luristán*, whose death happened in 730 (A. D. 1329). See the MS. *Táríkh Jehán Árá*, in the section relating to (لرستان) *Luristán.*

his calculation to the name(91). But it is evident from actual observation, and testimonies above-quoted, that the original number exceeded forty, although it did not, probably, amount to so many (even including the whole terrace) as might be supposed from another name bestowed in some manuscripts on these ruins; *Hezár Sutún* (هزار ستون) or the "Thousand Columns."

To this title is sometimes added, the name of *Istakhr* (اصطخر), that city and territory which, we may believe, derived their chief glory from the "Palace of a Thousand "Columns." Thus HAMDALLAH MASTOWFI closes the short section devoted to Queen HUMA'I; "and among "the memorials of her reign is the *Hezár Sutún* of "*Istakhr*, which was ruined by Alexander(92)." Some later historians have but slightly altered the words of this passage; thus MI'RKHOND says, "and among the "structures erected by her is the *Hezár Sutún* of *Istakhr*, "which Alexander the Grecian ruined(93).

(91) "In this august place only eighteen pillars of forty remain, about fifty foot "high, and half an ell diameter, of the distance of eight paces one from another; "though we could count the twenty two bases; which agree with the *Persian* Memoirs, "who therefore still call it *Chulminor, The Palace of Forty Pillars.*" (Fryer's Travels, p. 251, Lond. 1698). He probably wrote *Cheelminor*.

(92) و از آثار او هزار ستون اصطخر است که انرا اسکندر خراب کرد
MS. *Tárikh Guzidah*.

(93) و از جمله عمارات او هزار ستون اصطخر بود که اسکندر رومي انرا خراب کرد
MS. *Rauzet al Saffa*.

It can scarcely be doubted that to these Persepolitan ruins Mohsan Fa'ni alludes in his extraordinary work the *Dabistán*, when he mentions an idol-temple called *Haft Súr* (هفتسور), "The seven walls, or ramparts," at *Istakhr*, in the province of *Fárs* or *Párs*(94), a name which Kæmpfer's plan (Amœn. Exot. p. 329) would seem to justify; for it represents the *Takht* as comprising only seven distinct edifices; whereas even now there are vestiges of more, though it is possible that two or three structures may have once been connected.

Let us now examine the oldest written records that a most inquisitive and accomplished traveller could procure among the *Parsís*, or descendants of the fire-worshipping Persians. I mean those *Zend* and *Pahlavi* Manuscripts so ingeniously and faithfully translated by Anquetil du Perron, and forming what he entitled the *Zendavesta*(95). In this we

(94) هیکل استخر پارس که موسوم است به هفتسور See the *Dabistán* as printed in Gladwin's "New Asiatick Miscellany," Vol. I. p. 131, (Calcutta, 1789). Although the word *haikel* (هیکل) may signify, according to the Dict. *Burhán Kátea*, any considerable edifice, yet I am willing to translate it here in its primary sense of *but kháneh* (بتخانه) "a house of idols," believing that the author understands by the *Haft Súr* of *Istakhr*, those seven temples in which images of the Planets are said to have been adored, and which he particularly describes, (*Dabist* p 125 et seq.) But that such idolatrous worship was in any age practised at the *Takht*, by whatsoever name the Persians called it, cannot be inferred from the sculptured figures now remaining, as I have already observed, p. 284.

(95) Paris, 1771, two parts, quarto, generally divided into three volumes.

might expect to find some mention, and perhaps a name, of the great Persian capital, and of that noble edifice, which must have constituted its principal ornament, whether as a palace or a temple. But M. Anquetil does not appear to have discovered throughout the *Zendavesta*, any name that might be supposed a representation of *Istakhr* or Persepolis, though many cities of inferior note are celebrated in that valuable work; nor has he remarked any description indicating the stately fabrick of "A Thousand Columns." He acknowledges that it is difficult to ascertain the true position of several places mentioned in his Manuscripts; he is even doubtful whether some names belong to cities in the East or in the West; the North or South; and separated from each other by many hundred miles([96]). In such an ample field of conjecture it will not, perhaps, be deemed presumptuous if I suggest, as a possibility, that among the Persian cities enumerated, *Istakhr* or Persepolis may be found under

([96]) "Les livres *pehlvis* et *parsis* ne nous disent pas clairement où étoient stitués "les differens lieux," &c. (Zendav. Tome I. part. 2, p. 263). *Soghdô* may be a place in Assyria, or in Transoxiana, (p. 265); *Môorĕ* may be *Marv* in *Khorásán* or *Marághah* in *Azerbaiján*, (p. 265, 266). *Haróïou* may be *Herát* in *Khorásán*, or a place in Syria, (266, 267); *Héetoméántĕ* may be on the river Oxus or on a river of *Sistán* or *Sejestán*, (p. 268). *Raghan* may be the city of *Raï* or a place in *Sistán*, (p. 269), &c.; and M. Anquetil's notes in the passage above quoted and elsewhere, sufficiently prove how much the *Pársí* commentators disagree among themselves. Although my confidence in the learned Frenchman induced me, until lately, to adopt, almost without examination, his opinion that *Hamadán* was the *Varjemgird*, (Zendav. Tome I. part. 2, p. 275), yet I have long since noted some obscure geography in the Zendavesta, and on a future occasion shall endeavour to illustrate it.

the names of *Var-jem-gird*, *Jem-gird*, or *Jem-kand*, equally denoting a city, fortress or mansion, constructed by JEMSHI'D, or the place in which he dwelt(97).

The reader will here recollect JEMSHI'D's *Takht*, his "Throne," or Palace, to which many circumstances in the description of *Var-jem-gird* seem applicable; for it was situate far in the South to which that monarch invariably directed his course(98); it was in the center of *Pârs*(99); it was a lofty edifice divided into several parts, and surrounded with walls; it stood on an extensive square foundation or

(97) "Le *Vardjemguerd*, c'est à dire, *le Var fait par Djemschid.*" (Zendav. Tome I. part 2, p. 275). *Djemguerd*, (Tome II. p. 411). *Djemkand*, (ibid. also Tome I. part. 2, p. 275). The monarch's name was properly *Jem*; the surname *Sheid* or *Shid*, signifying bright or luminous, he received because, from the beauty of his countenance which seemed to glow with celestial splendour, he was compared to the sun. Such is the explanation of *Jem-shid* given by several historians, particularly by HAMDALLAH in the *Târíkh Guzídah*;

نام او جم و لقب شید جهت انکه از خوبي صورت که روشني از روي او مي تافت
اورا بخورشید نسبت کردند—

That the brilliancy of his jewels contributed to heighten the dazzling effects of his natural beauty, I have already shown, (p. 16).

(98) "Le *Vendidad* represente ce Prince marchant toujours vers le Sud." See M. ANQUETIL's note 2, Zendav. Tome I. part. 2, p. 263; and the gradual advances of JEMSHI'D "vers le pays auquel preside *Rapitan*, le Midi," in the text, p. 272, 273, 274; until at last he constructs the *Var* or *Ver*, which afterwards bore his name; "Or Djemschid fit le *Ver*, &c. p. 275.

(99) "Au milieu de la Perse, dans le (desert) salé," (Zendav. Tome II. p. 411, note 1). Can this *Salé*, (for the word *desert* is an interpolation in M. Anquetil's note) allude to the salt Lakes, which I have mentioned; p. 67, 69, 171? The *Pahlavi* text seems to give *Srová* rather as a proper name "*Miané Parès, pavan Srová*; and it is accordingly rendered, (p. 411), "Miané Parès dans Srová."

platform, at the foot of a mountain; it was abundantly watered; and the adjacent territory yielded golden harvests even to luxuriance([100]).

Here, perhaps, we may suppose a reference to the fine plain of *Marvdasht* or *Istakhr*, fertilized by the copious waters of the river *Bandamir* and by many smaller streams flowing through a multiplicity of villages([101]).

The *Varjemgird* was not exempt from cold, nor even from snow; but this, when dissolved by the heat, contributed to enrich the soil; (Zendav. Tome II. part. 2, p. 274, 275);

([100]) "Un Palais elevé, entouré de murs, et dont l'interieur, partagé en corps de "logis, separés par des cours, etoit bien eclairé—la place fort etendue et quarrée." "*Djemkand havir kofé Damegan*, Le Djemkand est sous le mont Damegan," (Tome II. p. 411; Tome I. part. 2, p. 275). Là Djemschid fit couler en abondance l'eau; "les champs toujours dorés y portoient ce qui est bon a manger." (Zendav. Tome I. part. 2, p. 276, 277).

([101]) See in *Zendavesta*, Tome I. part 2. (p. 276, 278,) the numerous villages of different sizes; the excellence of the soil; "cette terre étoit excellente," (275). The fruit trees, the cattle, domestick animals, the germs of every thing necessary as food, &c. (277). The great plain of *Marvdasht*, or *Istakhr*, was the most fertile that Della Valle had seen in any province of Persia; (Viaggi. Lett XV. Ottob. 1621.) Chardin celebrates the great and small streams of limpid water, "qui est la meilleure du "monde," which render the plain "fertile, riche, abondante, belle et delicieuse;" (Tome IX, p. 154). The rivers Araxes, and *Pulouar*, and a "thousand rivulets," that irrigate it from one end to the other, (Tome IX. p 49). See also Fryer's Account (Trav. p. 253), of this "wealthy plain." Kæmpfer bears ample testimony to the richness of its products, (Amœn. Exot. p. 298), which Le Brun confirms, mentioning the *eight hundred and eighty* villages once situate on the plain, whilst more than *fifteen hundred* might have been counted within a compass of twelve leagues about the ruins. (Voyages, p. 261).

I have already observed, (p. 168), that *Istakhr* is among those places which a Geographical Manuscript assigns to the *Sardsír* or cold region of *Párs*; and that *Savonát*, though more southern, is nevertheless by some *farsangs* above the imaginary line that marks the *garmsír* or warmer division in which alone date-trees are said to grow(102). Chardin describes the frost and snow, the winter "rude et violent," that lasts from November to March in the heart of Persia; and the summer nights delightfully cool, however hot the days, (Tome IV. p. 19, 20); a circumstance which I experienced, in May and July, on the plain of *Istakhr*; where Le Brun was sometimes hindered from exploring *Jemshíd's Throne*, (Nov. 1704), by the rain, snow and frost that obliged him to remain in the shelter of a house, (Voyages, p. 280).

Whether the *Varjemgird* has appeared to any other writer under the form of *Istakhr* or Persepolis, I strongly doubt; yet some further remarks are postponed, as it is possible that they may have been anticipated in two or three Essays, the titles of which alone are at present known to me, through the medium of a recent and very excellent work below quoted(103).

(102) "And the towns of the *Sardsír*, or cold region of *Párs* are, first, *Istakhr*, then "*Baizá*," &c. و شهر سردسیر پارس اول اصطخر و بیضا See the *Súr al Beldán*, which places *Savonát*, (or *Astahbonát*), in the same division. See also the printed work of EBN HAUKAL, (Orient. Geogr.) p. 113, "To the colder region belong *Istakhr* and *Beiza*," and *Astahaján* (اصطهاجان) erroneously written for اصطهبانات *Astahbánát*.

(103) "Veteris Mediæ et Persiæ Monumenta," &c. by the ingenious Hoeck, (Gotting. 1818, quarto). I much regret that this valuable work has only fallen into my hands

We must now examine the name *Istakhr*, which, as frequently written (اصطخر), or (اسطخر) bespeaks in two letters, (the ص and ط) an Arabian origin. But on the authority of several Manuscripts, especially the best Dictionaries, we are justified in reducing this to Persian orthography, and may write it accordingly استخر. Some have supposed that the place was called after an ancient personage; as he appears, however, merely to bestow his doubtful name on a territory of considerable extent comprehending the Persian metropolis, I would more willingly seek a descriptive signification for the word *Istakhr*(104). Spelt as above, in a manner peculiarly Arabick,

(1819), since the commencement of these remarks on *Varjemgird*; it will be found equally useful to the studious antiquary at home, as to the traveller who may visit the monuments of which it treats.

(104) "According to one tradition," says HAMDALLAH, "this place was founded "by CAIUMERS, (the first Persian king), or, according to another by his son, whose "name was ISTAKHR." بقولي كيومرث بنياد كرد و بروايتي پسرش استخر نام See the MS. *Nuzhat al Culúb*, (Geogr. ch. 12). M. Langlès has translsted the article from which this passage is extracted, in the "Mémoire Historique sur Pesépolis," annexed to the third volume of his "Collection Portative de Voyages," (p. 208). It was not compatible with the plan of so small a work to give the original texts of those Arabian, Persian, and Turkish authors whom he quoted; but from the well-known accuracy and ingenuity of M. Langlès, I should in my quotations of the same passages have generally considered a reference to his Memoir as sufficient; the French translation, however, in two or three places, indicates a slight difference between the copies which he used and mine; this has induced me to quote some particular words or sentences, in the original language, from the best of my own Manuscripts; for there are scarcely two copies of any Oriental work that do not abound in various readings. I shall again have occasion to notice the very interesting Memoir of M. Langlès.

it may express the marble materials of JEMSHI'D's Throne or Palace, according to a learned Orientalist([105]).

But if we adopt the Persian orthography, *Istakhr* will signify "a pond, lake or reservoir of water"([106]); and "the name "of a castle in the province of *Fárs*, so called from an immense "cistern which it contains; and this after the Arabick fashion "is written اسطخر"([107]). It signifies also, "that castle in *Fárs* "which was the royal residence of DA'RA'I (or Darius) the

([105]) "Hoc Palatium quia ex rupe excisum, Arabicè nuncupatum est *Istachr*, q. d. "*è rupe desumptum* seu *rupe constans*, saxeum Palatium, nomine deducto ab octava "conjugatione Radicis صخر *Sachr*, i. e. rupes." Hyde, Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 304. (Oxon. 1700.) Kæmpfer also refers it to the same root; "Rudera sunt Palatii *Istachr*, i. e. "operis marmorei dicti." Amœn. Exot. (p. 305). Yet I doubt whether any Arabian or Persian critick has noticed this etymology.

([106]) See the Dict. *Burhán Kátea* in استخر, which is explained as equivalent in sense to ابکیر and تالاب. See it also in the words اسطخر, اصطخر and اصطرخ, for so the two final letters are often transposed; but the true pronunciation is ascertained by FIRDAUSI, whose *Sháh Námeh* exhibits the name *Istakhr* at least eight and twenty times, occasionally corresponding in rhyme to the word *fakhr*. Thus DA'RA' or Darius, after a battle with Alexander, "marched from *Jahrum* towards *Istakhr*, "which was the boast or glory of the illustrious Persians."

زجهرم بیامد بسوي اصطخر
که ازادکانرا بدان بود فخر

NIZA'MI, however, in most copies of his *Sekander Námeh*, "The History of Alexander," affects to write the name اصطرخ *Istarakh*; or, as I have seen it in one MS. copy of the *Gulistán*, (chap. IV, accented *Usturukh*.

([107]) و نام قلعه است در ملک فارس و چون در ان قلعه تالاب بسیار بزرگي هست بنابران بدین نام خوانند و معرب آن اسطخر ست

(*Burh. Katea* in استخر). I no longer quote the *Burhán Katea* as MS. since a friend informs me that the Persian text has been lately printed at Calcutta.

"son of DA'RA'B"([108]). That *Istakhr* derived its name from the lakes and marshes among which it is situate, Father Angelo declares to be his opinion([109]). We have seen, however, that the Persian Dictionary quoted in note 107, does not allude to a general diffusion of water; but one castle (of many that guarded the plain) is represented as borrowing a name from its own particular *istakhr*, or reservoir, which this circumstance may induce us to imagine, as it has been described, remarkable for magnitude or capaciousness. Did not Chronology present an insuperable difficulty, we might suppose the *istakhr* here mentioned to be that immense reservoir or cistern which I have already noticed as the work of AZZAD (or ADHAD) AD DOULEH, who boasted that he had erected a lake on the summit of a mountain. (See p. 183).

([108]) قلعه فارس باشد و ان تختگاه داراي بن دارابست (*Burh. K.* in اصطخر).

([109]) See the Persian Column of his Gazophylacium Linguæ Persarum, &c. p. 283; و در باب معني استخر كمان دارم كه وجه تسميه از درياچهاي و ابهاي ايستاده and his Italian article *Persepoli*, (ibid); "Gli autori Persiani la chiamano *Istechr* "cioè, lago, laguna; e dà vero il suo sito e pieno di lagune," (in the French column, "pleine de lacs et des eaux dormantes)." Chardin was forced to deviate in three or four places from the direct road by water which had inundated several parts of the fine Persepolitan plain; "Les eaux qui etoient debordées en plusieurs endroits," &c. Tome IX, p. 48, Rouen 1723). Le Brun, also, (Voyages, p. 260), and other travellers, (some of my own acquaintance) have been equally incommoded on this noble plain by the exuberance of its waters. To restrain these when AZZAD AD DOULEH had constructed the massive dike or mound called *Bandamír*, it may be recollected that he vauntingly styled his work "a mountain in the midst of a lake." (See p. 183).

This artificial lake, however, was not formed until a late period of the tenth century; now we find that not only TABRI and EBN HAUKAL who lived in an early part of the same century, have frequently noticed *Istakhr* as a most ancient city, but EBN AASIM AL KU'FI, an hundred and fifty years before, had designated the capital of *Párs* by that name, in his Manuscript Chronicle the "Book of Victories"(110). *Istakhr* also appears under the form of *Stahr* (Ստահր) in the Armenian History of Moses Chorenensis, a writer generally assigned to the fifth century, though reduced by one critick to the eighth(111); when, also, a silver coin was struck by the *Muselmán* conquerors of Persia, (as an inscription in their language unequivocally proves) "at *Is-*" *takhr* in the year ninety," corresponding to 708 of the Christian era(112).

(110) The كتاب الفتوح or تاريخ الفتوح composed in the eighth century by ABU MUHAMMED AHMED EBN AASIM, AL KU'FI, ابو محمد احمد بن اعثم الكوفي relating the conquests of the early *Muselmáns* in various countries. This work in Arabick, as originally written, I have never been able to procure; nor, probably, does a copy exist in Europe; we may even suppose it extremely rare among the Asiaticks themselves; for a distinguished man of letters, AḤMED AL GHAFFA'RI, is content to quote it (in his *Negaristán*) through the medium of a Persian translation, which was made about the year 596 (A. D. 1199 or 1200), by MUHAMMED EBN AHMED AL MASTOWFI محمد ابن احمد المستوفي. From the Persian work, after a collation of three fine copies, I some years ago prepared for the press a translation of many interesting anecdotes.

(111) Mos. Choren. Hist. Arm. Lib. II, p. 190, (Edit. Whiston. 1736). Concerning the age of this Armenian writer, See Vol. I. p. 42, note 56.

(112) "Argenteus rarissimus Musei Cufici Borgiani in *Adleri* Collectione nova, tab. I, p. 1. aere expressus qui *Istachræ anno nonagesimo* (باصطخر في سنة تسعين) Chr. 708,

Here, then, *Istakhr* appears an established name between two and three hundred years before the construction of AZZAD AD DOULEH'S great cistern; and must either be derived from one more ancient, or from the general marshiness of the plain, if we still suppose the word to signify a receptacle for water.

Many Eastern writers have described minutely the great cistern constructed by AZZAD AD DOULEH, in the fortified mountain of *Istakhr*; but they do not mention that any similar work of art had previously existed there. The mountain, however, contained, in one of its hollows, a natural pond which AZZAD AD DOULEH enlarged and improved until it became that reservoir so celebrated among the Persians. This we learn from HAMDALLAH'S Geographical Treatise, in a passage that has not been hitherto translated, I believe, into any European language; it occurs near the end of that chapter from which M. Langlès extracted an account of JEMSHI'D'S ruined palace, (See his "Memoire Historique," above quoted, note 104). HAMDALLAH in a particular section describes the sixteen castles that remained when he wrote (in the fourteenth century) out of seventy and more, by which *Fárs* had once been rendered a province of considerable strength; here he informs us that "According to the

"ad similitudinem Damascenorum cusus fuit, ut *Assemanni* mihi confirmavit et *Adlerus* "litteris ad me datis suffragatus est." See the Opuscula Quatuor," of O. G. Tychsen, p. 30, (Rostoch. 1794).

"*Fárs Nâmeh*, or "History of *Fárs*," there is not in that "country a fortress more ancient than the castle of *Istakhr*; "and every possible mode of fortifying a place was there "employed. It formerly bore the name of *Seh Gumbedán*, "or the "Three Domes;" because within its territory were "comprised two other castles, named *Shekesteh* and *Sang-* "*wán*(113). And in the castle of *Istakhr* was a certain piece "of ground resembling a deep valley, into which the rain "water flowed from the sides, but at one part ran down to- "wards the plain. AZZAD AD DOULEH, the *Dílemi* Prince, "having raised a *band* or mound on that declivity by which "the water escaped, caused it to be faced on the inside with "stone and mortar, thus forming a *hawz* or reservoir. To "this the descent was by a staircase of seventeen steps; and "the reservoir was made so strong and solid, by means "of linen and wax, bitumen and mortar, that the water "could not, in any manner, find a passage through it"(114);

(113) Even my best copy of HAMDALLAH'S work, though in general most accurately written, has *Shangwán* for *Sangwán*, as will appear from the quotation in note 114; but an excellent Dictionary informs us that *Sangwán* (called likewise *Sepídán* by the people of *Shíráz*), was a castle which JEMSHI'D erected in *Fárs*, and this with the castle of *Istakhr* and that styled *Shekesteh*, (or broken) constituted the *Seh gumbedán*, or "Three Domes." (See the *Burhán Kátea* in سنگوان—سپیدان and سه گنبدان). My copy of the *Shíráz Nâmeh* reads *Sagnwán* (سگنوان) erroneously, in a passage which Kæmpfer has translated, (Amœn. Exot. p. 303); but his MS. probably had سگنان for he expresses the name by *Saknaun*; as does M. Langlès in his Mem. Hist. sur Persep. (p. 219).

(114) قلعه اصطخر—در فارس نامه گوید در ان ملک هیچ قلعه از ان دژ قدیمتر نیست وهر استحکامي که جهت قلاع ممکن بوده در ان کرده اند و در قدیم انرا سه

It is possible that the natural pond had been called *istakhr*, and imparted its name to the fortified rock, many centuries before the construction of AZZAD AD DOULEH's great reservoir; but if the city had been so denominated in Alexander's time, (from any signification of *istakhr*), his Grecian companions might have adopted or imitated the word, which when hellenized into Ισταχρ or Ισταχαρα would not have been more harsh than a multiplicity of names recorded by Strabo and Ptolemy; or they might have expressed its meaning in a term of their own language; whereas we find that they entitled it "Persepolis," denoting emphatically the "city of the Persians," by a compound name equivalent in sense to the Persian *Irán-shahr*; of which I once regarded "Persepolis," as

کنبدان خوانده اند زیرا که قلاع شکسته و شنکوان در ماحول انست و بر ان قلعه دره شکل زمیني بود عمیق و اب باران از اطراف در ان رفتي و از نشیب ان بصحرا ریختي عضد الدوله دیلمی بر ان طرف نشیب بندي بست و درون انرا بساروج و سنک حوضي ساخت که بهفده پایه نردبان در ان روند و بکرباس و قیر و ساروج و موم انرا چنان محکم کردانید که قطعا اب از ان نمی تراوید

MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*, (Geogr. Sect. ch. 12). This reservoir, it is added, was so ample that a thousand men might drink of the water daily during a whole year, yet the surface would not be lowered even to the depth of one foot; and marble columns placed in it supported a roof which preserved the water unaffected by vicissitudes of weather. The Turkish Geographer whose account of *Istakhr* seems principally derived from HAMDALLAH'S work, does not clearly express that the natural pond was in the very castle. His words, according to Professor Norberg's translation, are "In hac regione solum reperitur valli simile, ab uno latere cinctum campo, quo plu-"via effusa armentum boum silvestrium se contulit; igitur Adadel Daula illud latus "obstruxit, ibique magnam piscinam 17 scabellis, s. gradibus scalæ præditam condi-"dit, cui tectum columnis innixum superstruxit. Hujus aqua 1000 hominibus sufficit." (Specim. Geogr. Orient. Turc. Lat. quoted in Münter's Danish Essay on the Persepolitan Inscriptions, p. 16).

merely the Greek translation. But *Irán-shahr*, as some authors inform us, signified (like *Irán* alone) the Persian empire in general; while, according to others, the city of *Nishapúr* was particularly entitled *Irán-shahr*(115).

VIII. However that may be, Greek authors have preserved, under forms slightly differing, (perhaps from the natural difficulty of catching foreign sounds or through the inaccuracy of transcribers) a Persian compound name of which scarcely any translation could better express the meaning than

(115) The Dict. *Burhán Kátea* (in voce) informs us that "*Irán Shahr* was the first "or original name of *Nishapúr*," ایران شهر—نام اول نیشاپورست EMI'RKHOND in the first Volume of his *Rauzet el Saffa*, relates that king FERIDU'N having bestowed on his sons, SALM and TU'R, all the Eastern and Western regions of this earth, appointed the other, IREJE, to be sovereign of "*Irán Shahr*, which implies," says the historian, "whatever provinces lie between the banks of the Euphrates and the river *Jaihún* "or Oxus), the very center of the most cultivated and civilized, most pleasant and "most excellent portion of the globe; the middle gem in the collar of this world."— ایران شهر که عبارت از کنار اب فراتست تا شط جیحون که وسط معموره عالم و خوشترین و بهترین عرصه کیتي و واسطه عقد دنیاست نامزد ایرج کرد— It is certain that two copies of the same Oriental work very frequently differ; but I suspect that Hyde mistook one historian for another, when he assigned the following passage to "EMIRCHOND in vita Regis PHRIDUN." (Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 417, ed. 1700). ایران شهر که عبارت است از عراق و خراسان و قهستان "*Irán Shahr*, by "which name are denoted the provinces of *Irák*, *Fârs*, *Khurásán*, and *Kuhistán*;" for these are not the words of EMI'RKHOND (at least according to my copies), but of his son KHONDEMI'R in the MS. work entitled *Kheláset al Akhbár*. One copy of TABRI'S Chronicle explains *Irán Shahr* still more fully; as comprehending the "territory of *Basrah*, the provinces of *Irák Arab* and *Irák Ajem*, *Khurásán*, and "*Baghdád*, and the land of *Kúfah*, and all the countries that were most central and "cultivated in the world; and *Heiáz*, as far as the borders of Yemen (or Arabia Felix)." Another copy, however, merely states that FERIDU'N placed his son IREJE, in the government of *Irán Shahr*; and a third, more briefly, of *Irán*.

"Persepolis," the City of the Persians, and, pre-eminently their capital. This original name I conceive to have been *Parsa-garda*, the habitation of Persians, or of him from whom their country derived its denomination; PA'RS, the son of PAHLAV(116). Instances of the local adjunct *grd* (in modern orthography comprising only three letters گرد), have been already quoted (p. 102), on the best authority; *Dáráb-gerd*, Dariopolis, the city founded by Darius or that in which he resided; *Siávesh-gerd*, and *Veiseh-gerd*, to which might easily be added many similar compound names of places(117). Among the Greeks who visited Persia we may reasonably suppose that some never knew the meaning of *Parsa-garda*, but thought it sufficient to imitate the barbarous sound;

(116) بدانکه فارس پسر فهلو بن سام بن نوح علیه السلام بوده و او در عهد خود در فارس مستغیض کشته و مالک فارس بود و این مرز بفارس بنام او اشتهار یافته و لغت فهلوي از زبان فهلو در فارس مستغیض شده

"Know that PA'RS the son of PAHLAV, the son of SA'M (or Shem) the son of NOAH, "(on whom be the peace of God!) having established himself in *Párs* became sover- "eign of this country which derived its name from him; and the *Pahlavi* language, "so called after his father PAHLAV, became general in *Párs*." (MS. *Shíráz Námah*). Here, according to the Arabian manner, F is substituted for P in PA'RS and PAHLAV. The genealogy of PA'RS has been differently traced up to Noah in the *Jehángírí*, *Burhán Kátea*, and MSS. which it is not necessary here to quote.

(117) Such as *Palâsh gerd* (پلاشگرد), *Fíráz gerd* (فیروزگرد), *Lásgerd* (لاسگرد), *Rámgerd* (رامگرد), *Ferhád-gerd* (فرهاد گرد), *Dásh gerd* (داشگرد), with many others which shall be hereafter more particularly noticed. The learned Hyde thought it probable, (but I know not on what grounds) that the Persians borrowed their termination *gard* (or *gerd*) from the Carthaginians. "Istam terminationem *gard*, "Persæ videntur olim habuisse à Pœnis, quibus קרתא *Kapra* est urbs, seu *Certa* ut "in *Tigranocerta*." (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 535, Ox. 1700).

while others evinced superior knowledge by translating that name into "Persepolis." Such a circumstance would have been the source of much confusion; for subsequent geographers and historians compiling their materials from the accounts trasmitted by those travellers, either in oral tradition or in written journals, must have sometimes found the same transaction assigned by one to Persepolis, and by another to *Pasargada*, *Parsa-gada*, or *Pasa-garda*, as it has been variously expressed(118). Curtius, possibly, was so deceived, as he, (and he alone), distinguishes the Pasargadan from the Persepolitan treasures(119). But to me it appears that Arrian has only retained the Persian where others

(118) We may read *gadæ* (with Strabo, Arrian and others) or *gardæ* (with (Pliny), yet the sense will scarcely suffer any alteration if, as Reland supposes (Dissert. VIII), *gadæ* be what in modern Persian is written كده and pronounced *kadah*, a house, mansion, or place of residence. This I allow to be plausible, and even admissible, still preferring *garda* as better expressing houses collectively, or a city, than *kadah* which denotes a single house, or mansion; thus *mei-kadah* (ميكده) the house of wine or a tavern; *átesh-kadah* (آتشكده) a fire-temple, &c. In the first member however of this compound name, *r* is indispensably necessary to the only sense that I can discover in the word; and must be placed, not at the end as by Strabo, Plutarch and others, (Πασαρ *Pasar*); but as the third letter; thus we find *Persagadæ* and *Persagadum*, and *Persa gidæ* in different editions of Curtius, (See Snakenburg's, Lib. V. cap. vi. 10); and *Parsar-gadæ* (οιον τε και εν Παρσαργαδαις, &c.), in Appian. Mithr. p. 362, (edit. Toll. 1670), where the second *r* of *Parsar* seems to me superfluous. Ptolemy (VI, 4), has *Pasar gada* (or *Pasaracha* Πασαραχα as in the Palatine MS.) and places a *Pasacarta* in Parthia. Stephanus Byzantius has *Passargadæ*.

(119) Curtius agrees with Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. XVII), in stating the Persepolitan treasures at the immense sum of one hundred and twenty thousand talents, or nearly thirty-three millions of our pounds sterling after Herbert's calculation, (Trav. p. 145, 3d edit.); but adds six thousand talents found at Persagadæ.—"Accessere ad hanc "pecuniæ summam captis Persagadis sex millia talentorum." (Lib. V. c. vi. 10).

adopted the Greek name when, having, mentioned Alexander's march from Susiana, his victorious contest with Ariobarzanes, and his eager desire to possess the enemy's hoarded money, he informs us that his hero seized at *Pasargadæ* the treasures of Cyrus; appointed a new governor; and burned the palace of the Persian kings. (See the quotation in note 122). Now we learn from many indisputable authorities that Ariobarzanes was defeated in opposing Alexander's approach from a Western province to *Persepolis*([120]); that in *Persepolis* were preserved the accumulated treasures of Cyrus and of other monarchs; and that in *Persepolis* stood the Royal Palace which Alexander destroyed([121]). If Arrian's *Pasargadæ*, therefore, be not the same place, he must have suddenly transported his reader, in the middle of a narrative, from the capital to a distant city, and as suddenly brought him back; a fault which I would not readily impute to that judicious writer. But a very learned critick, unable to account for the confusion of names, and unwilling

([120]) Pasargadæ is placed *South Eastward* of Persepolis, on the line of Alexander's return from India, by those who regard the two names as belonging to different cities. Thus M. de Ste. Croix (Examen Critique des Historiens d' Alexandre, p. 678, 2de edit), "says—" au retour des Indes, Alexandre vint de Pasargade a Persepolis;" yet in a former part of his admirable work, perhaps through some accidental transposition, he informs us that Alexander having marched from Susiana, (a province lying *westward*) passed the Persian straits, "and became *successively* master of Pasargada and of Persepolis,—" Ensuite il passa les Pyles Persides et se rendit successivement "maitre de Pasargade et de Persépolis" (Exam. Crit. p. 310).

([121]) Diod. Sic. Lib. XVII. Strab. XV. Q. Curt. V. Plin. VI. c. 26. Plut. in Alex. Justin. XI. Athenæus XIII. &c.

to allow the identity, suspects that some part of Arrian's text must have been lost; while an ingenious translator has, without any hesitation, substituted Persepolis for Pasargadá(122).

In placing the tomb of Cyrus at *Pasargadæ*, Arrian (Lib. VI, c. 29, ed. Gronov. p, 273), agrees with all other writers; but he also places there the burnt palace which these unanimously describe as a structure belonging to *Persepolis*. On this subject, a third passage of Arrian may be here noticed; which, though it seem to prove that the two names belonged to places wholly distinct, does not by any means affect my opinion of their identity. It is the beginning of his seventh book; "When Alexander returned to *Pa-*" *sargadæ* and to Persepolis, he became desirous," &c.

(122) The words of Arrian are "Ελαβε δε και τα εν Πασαργάδαις χρήματα, εν τοις Κυρου του πρωτου θησαυροις. Σατραπην μεν δε Περσων κατεστησε Φρασαόρτην τον Ρέομιθρου παιδα' τα βασιλεια δε τα Περσικα ενεπρησε, &c." I quote the only edition of Arrian within my reach at present; that published in 1704, (Lugd. Bat. folio, Lib. III, cap. 18, p. 131) by Gronovius, who, though he overwhelms us in every page with minute criticism, does not appear to suspect any chasm or deficiency in this passage. But the Baron de Sainte Croix affirms that something must have been omitted immediately before the words τα βασιλεια; otherwise the last sentence is not connected with any preceding, and Arrian has confounded Pasargada with Persepolis, or placed in the former city, that royal palace which belonged to the latter. "Il doit y avoir une "lacune dans le texte d'Arrien, immediatement avant cette phrase, qui n'est point "liée avec ce qui la précède. Si cela n'est pas, Arrien a confondu Pasargade avec "Persepolis, ou a mis dans la premiere ville le palais des rois, qui se trouvait dans la "derniere." (Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 311, 2de edit). The substitution of Persepolis for Pasargada, to which I have above alluded, occurs in M. Chaussard's translation of Arrian, (Tome I. p. 300, Paris 1802), thus—"Il s'empare "egalement de l'argent que Cyrus l'ancien avoit accumulé a Persepolis."

Ως δε ες Πασαργαδας τε και ες Περσεπολιν αφικετο Αλεξανδρος, ποθος καταλαμβανει αυτον, &c. Here most abruptly is introduced the name of Persepolis for the first, and indeed the only time, throughout Arrians's work; and such is the perplexity of this passage that even M. de Ste. Croix can only explain it by *supposing* the name to have been already mentioned in a *supposed* chasm; and M. Chaussard, the translator, totally omits *Pasargadæ*, and says, "On his return to Persepolis, Alex-"ander was desirous of visiting the Persian Gulf," &c(123).

While the manuscripts that have transmitted Arrian's text abound with various readings, they furnish but one instance of a lost passage(124). This however could not have removed our present difficulty as the chasm *follows* Arrian's abrupt mention of Persepolis, to explain which we must

(123) "De retour a Persépolis, Alexandre eut desir," &c. (Tome II, p. 311). We have seen that M. de Ste. Croix accounts for the confusion in Arrian's third book by supposing the loss or omission of some passage (note 122), and this chasm, he thinks, necessarily contained the name of Persepolis (so abruptly presenting itself in the seventh book), as Arrian must have mentioned that city when he related the burning of its Royal Palace. "Arrien qui avoit nécessairement parlé de cette ville à "l'epoque de l'incendie de son palais; il y a donc une lacune en cet endroit comme "je l'ai déjà remarqué." (Exam. Crit. p. 314, 2nde edit).

(124) This chasm occurs near the middle of the seventh book, in all the MSS. Gronovius observes that a leaf of the oldest MS. having been lost, those who copied that volume left a blank in the corresponding part: the leaf, if not accidentally destroyed, might have contained, he thought, certain passages which, perhaps, induced some scrupulous Christian to tear it from the book, (See his edit. of Arrian p. 290, Lugd. Bat. 1704). But this surmise is not justified by Photius's abstract of the lost passage, (πεμπει δε και τους απομαχους, &c. Biblioth. col. 213); nor by the general purport of it collected from Diodorus and Plutarch.

either suppose some *preceding* passage lost, or the text itself corrupt. Amidst the multiplicity of various readings noticed by Arrian's editors and commentators, I should think the licence of conjectural emendation less abused by suggesting an alteration of a few letters in one line, than by imagining a chasm of indefinite extent merely to serve my purpose on this particular occasion. Regarding the third book as perfect in the passage respecting Pasargadæ, the treasures of Cyrus and the Royal Palace, (See note 122), I would, where Persepoli*n* is mentioned in the seventh book as above quoted, read, if necessary, Persepolis, having changed τε και ες into some word or words not occupying a much greater space, but sufficient to render the historian's meaning, "When Alexander returned to Pasargadæ *which is* Persepolis," or "*which is the same as* "Persepolis"([125]).

Arrian's Greek text, however, as at present we have it in his solitary mention of Persepolis, has contributed with passages from Strabo, (Lib. XV. p. 844, ed. Xyland. 1571), Pliny (Lib. VI. c. 26), and Ptolemy (Lib. VI. c. 4), to

([125]) If this be not granted I would, from extreme unwillingness to fancy a chasm where all the MSS. are declared perfect, rather suppose that Arrian having at once before him the journals of two different persons, found the same place described by one under its Persian, by the other under its Greek name; hence the confusion. He often complains of the discordant reports given by writers of equal authority; Alexander's companions; men who had visited the same places and recorded the same events. Thus widely, says he, does Aristobulus differ from Ptolemy, (the son of Lagus) in relating a circumstance which both had personally witnessed, (Lib. IV. c. 14).

confirm some eminent antiquaries and geographers in the opinion that Pasargadæ and Persepolis were names of places perfectly distinct. So thought Salmasius, Vossius, D'Anville, Sainte Croix, Larcher, Vincent and others; to which formidable phalanx must be added Rennell, in himself a host. (See "The Geographical System of Herodotus examined," &c. p. 286). I have ventured, notwithstanding, to range myself among those, a less numerous body, who regard "Persepolis" as the mere translation of an original Persian name, and believe that both compounds designated the same place([126]). Having reason to expect that Major Rennell's promised discussion respecting Pasargadæ is now on the eve of publication, I withold some remarks; as the final portion of this work will afford an opportunity for the insertion of them should my opinion seem still capable of defence, and for the frank renunciation of this opinion if proved erroneous by the arguments of that eminent geographer.

Meanwhile the addition of *gard* or *gerd*, indicates, by an obvious analogy, the name of *Pasa* as the representative of *Pasa-garda;* thus are formed *Daráb-gerd*, *Siávesh-gerd*, and other names above noticed; and even *Kaḍah* I have allowed

([126]) This identity appears to have been first remarked by Longuerue, (See the posthumous "Longueruana, ou Receuil de Pensées," &c. Berlin, 1754). It was confirmed by Heeren in his "Ideen uber die Politik," &c.; but I only know this learned German's opinion through M. de Sainte Croix (Exam. Crit. p. 677) who undertakes to refute it as paradoxical; and Mr. Hoeck, who adopts and ably defends it, (Vet. Mediæ et Pers. Monum. p. 14, &c.)

as nearly synonimous with *gerd*, (See note 118). The place, therefore, called *Pasa*, long seemed to me, as to D'Anville (Geogr. Anc.) a remnant of the classick *Pasagarda* or *Pasargada;* and I thought, with Rennell, that some monuments of antiquity might still have escaped the observation of Europeans, (Geogr. of Herodotus, p. 286).

Few circumstances could have been so gratifying to an antiquarian traveller, as the discovery of what might remove all doubts on this subject; and though Della Valle had failed in his researches, yet it was from some hope of better success that I solicited, through the Ambassador, permission to visit *Pasa* rather than four or five other places which had strongly excited my curiosity. But not one object remains at *Pasa* with which we can associate the idea of Cyrus's tomb, or, indeed, of any other ancient monument. The present inhabitants do not claim that monarch as founder of their city; in the oriental works which describe it, the name of Cyrus (living or dead) is not once mentioned; nor is *gard*, *kadah*, or any other term, ever added, either in familiar conversation or in manuscripts to the original name, properly *Pasá*, though often pronounced and written, after the Arabian manner, *Basá*, and more generally *Fasá*([127]).

([127]) The Arabs express by B or F, the P of foreign names; their own alphabet not furnishing this letter; thus Palestine becomes *Falestín;* Paulus, *Baulus;* Pírúz, *Fírúz*, &c. (See p. 97, and Vol. I. Pref. p. xix). I shall only add concerning the name of a *Persian* city, originally and properly written *Pasá*, (with P), that it seems unreasonable to

For these negative arguments some authorities have been already offered in this volume, where also are quoted two celebrated Persian authors who positively declare (what my own observation confirmed) that *Pasá*, not enjoying the benefit of a river, is watered by artificial means. (See chap. VIII, from p. 90 to 102). Such a place, therefore, cannot be Strabo's *Pasargadæ*, "*about* or *round* which," says he, "flows the "river *Kuros*; passing through that part of Persia called "the *hollow*." Εστι δε και Κυρος ποταμὸς, διὰ της κοιλης καλουμενης Περσίδος ρέων περὶ Πασαργαδας. (Lib. xv).

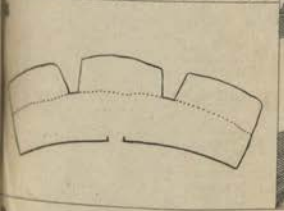
derive it from an *Arabick* word *Basa* بسا, signifying the North wind, which with *gard* or *gerd*, would resemble *Pasagarda*, (Golius in Alferg. p. 114); but I have already observed that *Pasa* is never used with any adjunct term. I am also unwilling to adopt the etymologies suggested by Salmasius, (Plin. Exerc. p. 846, Traj. 1689), and Bochart (Geogr. Sacr. Phaleg. VI. 10), from the Hebrew פרסי גדוד *Pársi-gedud*, or פרס גד *Paras gad*, "A Persian Army," or פרסיגדר *Parsigader*, signifying an enclosed place or camp of the Persians; preferring, like Reland, any allowable derivation that can be found in the Persian language itself. "Non placent enim etymologiæ vocum Persi-"carum ex sermone Hebræo petitæ, si ipsa lingua Persica," &c. (Dissert. VIII). From Anaximenes and Diotimus, (quoted by Stephanus Byzantius in *Passar gadæ*) and from Eustathius (ad Dionysii Perieg. v. 1069), we learn that *Pasargadæ* signified Περσων στρατοπεδον, the camp, or abode of the Persian army; being the place where Cyrus with his Persian troops defeated the Medes under Astyages. In this sense perhaps *Parsa kadah* (as explained in note 118) might signify the station of the Persians, in opposition to that spot which the Medes had occupied. I cannot dismiss the subject of this name without a notice of Tychsen's suspicion that the Biblical *Elam* עילם or *Elymais*, being in his opinion the same as Αιλαν and Αιραν (the very word *Irán* ايران signifying Persia) is nothing but a different name of Persepolis and Pasagarda; but it must be added, that by these three names he would understand Shushan or Susa, (O. G. Tychsen, de cuneatis Inscript. Persepol. pp. 10, 13). His *Elam Ir* or *Eir* (עילם עיר), quoted from a Hebrew work, and signifying the metropolis of Persia, would be, in that sense, like Parsagarda or Persepolis, equivalent to *Irán Shahr*, (See p. 316).

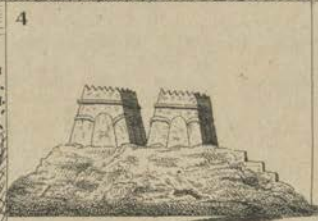
IX. But this *Kuros* is immediately recognised in the river *Kur* (ﻛﺮ), latterly called *Bandemír*, which fertilizes the plain of *Marvdasht*, *Istakhr* or Persepolis, as above described(128); and to this low and extensive plain, inclosed within mountains, the epithet *hollow* was appropriately given by Strabo, as Mr. Hoeck well observes, (Vet. Med. et Pers. Monum. p. 58). I may add that although the *Kur* and those streams which flow into it, do not absolutely surround or insulate the site of ancient Persepolis; yet they bound it in so many different directions as to appear almost circumfluent, justifying the expression περι ρέων which, as we have seen, Strabo applies to the principal river. A little map, forming the ninth article of Plate XLVIII, exhibits those streams delineated after authorities which, though in some respects they seem to me of questionable accuracy, may be considered as among the best hitherto published(129). It is chiefly

(128) See pp. 172, 183, 307, 311, &c. That this Cyrus (Corus or Corius) was the river now called *Bandemir*, is remarked by Vossius, (Observ ad Pomp. Melæ Lib. III. cap. 8, Hagæ. 1658, p. 284). The *Bandemir*, says Dr. Vincent, is the Cyrus or Kuros of the ancients, (Nearchus, p. 413, 2nd edit.); and Mr. Hoeck observes that this Cyrus or *Bandemir* was also called the Araxes. "Omnium consensu veterum "Araxes est hodiernus fluvius *Bendemir*, &c."—"fluvium *Bendemir* Arabibus *Cur* "dictum fuisse eundemque diversis nominibus apud veteres, modo *Cyrum* modo *Arax*-"*em* audivisse." (Vet. Med. et Pers. Mon. p. 58). But the *Cqeruab* (قرواب) of EDRI'SI is not, as Dr. Vincent believed, "the river *Ker* or *Kur*," (Nearch. p. 414), the first letter of *Cqeruab* ڤ being essentially different from the first of *Kur* ﻛ; and at the same time, erroneously put, in the Arabick text, for ڤ F with only one diacritical point as I shall demonstrate in the course of this section.

(129) I suspect them to be erroneous principally in those rivers which they lead from the North into Lake *Bakhtegán* by a course *eastward* of Persepolis, and therefore have not followed them in the map of my own route illustrating this Volume.

3





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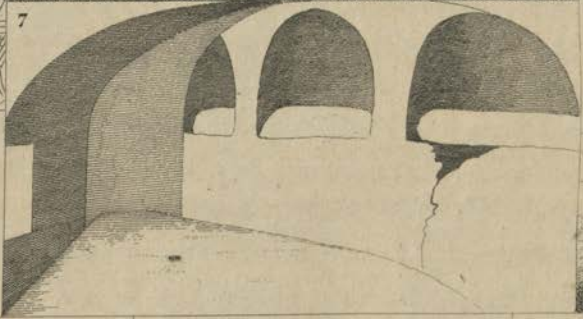

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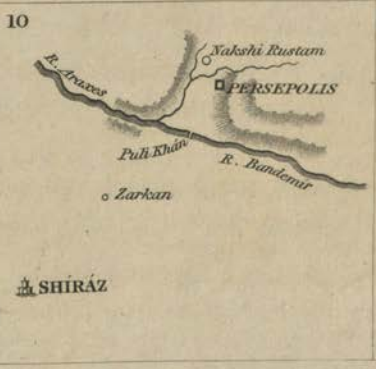

H. Mutlow sculp.

Antiquities and Rivers near Persepolis.

compiled from De la Rochette's (described with due praise in p. 174), and Wahl's, prefixed to his German Work on the Geography of Asia, (Leips. 1795). I have extracted in the same Plate (No. 10), that portion of Neibuhr's map, "(Voyages," Tome II. Tab. xvii), which represents the Persepolitan rivers; and, in No. 11, a sketch of those streams faithfully copied, on a reduced scale, from the Persian map of *Fárs*, executed in the thirteenth century, and illustrating a valuable Manuscript, the *Súr al Beldán*, already described as EBN HAUKAL'S composition, more generally entitled *Mesálek al Memálek*, (See Vol. I. p. 328, 340). The original map exhibits nearly one hundred names or positions of places, towns, lakes and rivers. In another work I shall endeavour to explain it; meanwhile, the extract here given sufficiently agrees with Niebuhr's delineation (No. 10), in the site of *Istakhr* or Persepolis, which appears bounded Northward, Westward, and Southward, by two rivers, the *Kur* and *Farwáb* or *Farváb;* while Eastward of that city we do not discover any stream flowing either into the *Kur* or into the lake of *Bakhtegán*; nor could I learn, when on the spot, that such existed. The Persian artist represents *Fasá* as distant from any water although his map comprises eight rivers, four lakes, and part of the Gulf.

Of many streams that intersect the plain of *Istakhr* or Persepolis, two only are named by oriental writers; the others, being inconsiderable brooks or artificial drains, have

not been dignified with the title of rivers. We find, also, but two in classical geography; the Araxes which Alexander crossed on his approach to Persepolis, and the Medus which falls into the Araxes, as Strabo informs us(130). These seemingly correspond to the rivers in our Persian map, (No. 11), the *Kur* and the *Faruáb*, for so appears in Arabick writings, what is properly *Paruáb* or *Parváb*, though vulgarly corrupted into *Palwár* or *Farwár*(131). This (probably Strabo's Mêdus) is the "little river called *Peleuar*," of which Pietro della Valle, who passed over it on a bridge, describes the course from North to South, ("fiumicello chiamato Peleuar," &c. Viaggi, Lett. xv. 1621), and it is thus mentioned by EBN HAUKAL in the manuscript *Súr al beldán*, more fully than in the printed translation of his work, (Orient. Geogr. p. 98). "And the river *Farwáb* issues from *Huber-kán*; from a village called *Farwáb*; and it advances until, "at the gate of *Istakhr*, it flows under the *Khurasán* bridge,

(130) Προς αυτη δε Περσαιπολει, τον Αραξην διεβη (Alexander); ρει δε ο Αραξης εκ των Παραιτακων, συμβαλλει δ' εις αυτον ο Μηδος, εκ Μηδειας ορμηθεις. (Strab. lib. XV). That Alexander's troops advancing towards Persepolis crossed the Araxes on a bridge, we learn from Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. XVII).

(131) The frequent change of *l* into *r*, has been already noticed; also of *b* into *v*, as in the modern Greek, and of *p* into *f*. These and many other changes of letters are exemplified by a variety of words in the Dictionaries *Jehángíri* and *Burhán Kátea*, each of which, in its preface, has a section on the subject. The district of *Kurbál* is most generally called by the peasants, *Kulbár* (or *Kulvár*), and a similar transposition of letters may be observed in numerous instances. The *Parváb* or *Palwár* is often named from a village near which it flows (described in my next chapter) the "River of *Sivend*."

"whence it proceeds until it falls into the river *Kur*"(132). The position of *Istakhr*, as here described in the tenth century, we find confirmed by EDRI'SI (often styled the Nubian Geographer) a writer of the twelfth; "*Istakhr*," says he "is "situate on the river *Faruáb*, and has a bridge called the "*Khurasán* bridge"(133).

But the Persian geographers who in proper names sometimes affect the Arabian manner of substituting F or B for P, here retain the original orthography; thus says HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI; "The river *Parwáb* issues from a moun- "tain of the village so named, and for the greater part "waters the territory of *Marvdasht*, and falls into the river "*Kur*. The extent of its course is eighteen farsangs"(134).

(132) و اما رود فرواب از حوبرفان بيرون مي ايد از دهي كه انرا فرواب مي خوانند و روانه مي شود تا بدروازه اصطخر بزير قنطره خراسان و مي رود تا انجا كه برود كر مي افتد (MS. *Súr al beldán.*)

The name which I have rendered *Huberkán*, is very equivocally written; only one diacritical point being expressed. The bridge here mentioned at or near *Istakhr* derived its name from the province of *Khurasán*, towards which it led in a North-Eastern direction; it is usual in Persia to denominate bridges and gates of cities after the chief places to which they lead; thus the *Cázerún* gate at *Shíráz*, &c.

(133) و اصطخر علي نهر فرواب و لها قنطره تسمي بقنطرة خراسان (See the *Nozhat al Mushták*, printed at Rome, 1592, Clim. III. sect. 6). The Arabick text for فرواب *Faruáb* has قرواب *Karuab* or *Cqeruab*, as written by the Maronites who translated the work into Latin Geographia Nubiensis, Paris, 1619, p 124). But the errour proceeds from a superfluous point over the first letter, as I have remarked in p. 326, note 128.

(134) اب پرواب از كوه دة پرواب بر مي خيزد و بيشتر نواحي مرودشت را اب ميدهد و در رود كر افتد طولش هجده فرسنگ باشد (MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*, Ch. of Rivers).

HAFIZ ABRU' in his MS. *Táríkh* almost literally copies this account of the *Parwáb;* adding, however, that it is a blessed or holy stream, (رودي مبارک) *rudí mubárek*(135).

"The river *Kur* of *Fárs*," says HAMDALLAH, "rises among "the mountains of *Kilár*, in *Fárs*, and having received the "waters of *Shaab Baván* and other small intermediate rivers it "flows united with them through *Fárs;* but this is a stream "which does not allow its waters to settle on any particular "place, until obstructed by *bands* or dikes, for the purposes of "irrigation. Of the *bands* erected on it, the first is the *Band* "of *Rámgard*, an ancient structure which under the *Seljúkian* "dynasty, having fallen to decay, was repaired by the ATA'-"BEG, FAKHR AD'DOULEH CHA'VELI, who gave it the name "of *Fakhristán*. The second is the *Band Azzadi*, which few "works throughout the world can equal in strength and "beauty; by this *band* the territory of Upper *Kurbál* is "watered. The third is that called *Band i Kassár*, by "means of which the district of Lower *Kurbál* is irrigated. "This *band* also, being in a state of ruin, was repaired by "the ATA'BEG CHA'VELI. Having passed through those

(135) Thus certain trees are reckoned *mubárek* مبارک, or blessed, (without any reference to the superstition noticed in Vol. I. p. 313, 359); such as the *Zeitún* (زیتون) or olive, and the *Nakhl* (نخل) or *Kharma* (خرما), the date or palm tree. But some Muhammedan tradition respecting the Angel Gabriel seems to have consecrated the olive; and the date is said to flourish only in the regions of *Islám*, the land of true believers. (See MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*. Ch. of Trees).

"territories, the river *Kur* flows into Lake *Bakhtegán*, after "a course of one hundred and thirteen farsangs"([136]). Some observations are below offered on this passage and on HA'FIZ ABRU''s account of the *Nahr Kur* or river *Kur*([137]).

Many Antiquaries and Geographers are much perplexed by the variety of ancient names which they think

([136]) اب کر فارس از کوههاي ولايت کلار فارس برميخيزد و ابهاي شعب بوان و ما بين آن و ديکر رودهاي کوچک بفارس با آن پيوسته ميکردد و اين رود بخيل است تا بندي برو نبسته اند هيچ جايي بزرعت ننشسته وبندها که بران ابست اول بند راجردست و ان قديم البنان است درعهد سلاجقه خلل يافته بود اتابک چاولي عمارتش کرد و فخرستان نام کرد و ديکر بند عضديست که در جهان مثل ان عمارت کم باشد از محکمي و نيکويي ولايت کربال عليا را اب ميدهد و بند قصار که کربال سفلي بران مزروعست اين بند نيز خلل يافته بود هم اتابک چاولي عمارت کرد و اين رود چون از ان ولايات بکزرد در بحيره بختکان ريزد طولش صد و سيزده فرسنک باشد MS. *Nozhat al Colúb* (Ch. of Rivers).

([137]) HAMDALLAH styles this the *Kur of Fárs*, as there is another and greater river named *Kur*, (or Cyrus), which flows from the borders of Armenia and falls into the Caspian sea. He describes *Kilár* (or *Gilár*) in his twelfth chapter, as a considerable village of *Párs*; and it seems belonging to the same territory as *Kavard* or *Gavard* (کورد) a small town. ATA'BEG CHA'VELI flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. The *Band Azzadi* is the *Band Emír*, already described as the work of AZZAD AD'DOULEH, (p. 181, 183): One copy of the *Nozhat al Colúb* (in chap. XII), informs us that *Kurbál*, *Uliá* and *Sifli*, Upper and Lower, are situate on the two sides of the river *Kur*; *Uliá* deriving its water by means of the *Band Emir*; and *Sifli* by means of the *Band i Kessár*. HA'FIZ ABRU' who borrows much of his account from HAMDALLAH, divides *Kurbál* into upper (*Bálá'in* بالايين) and lower, (*Zirín* زيرين); the upper being watered by the *Band* of AZZAD AD'DOULEH; the lower by that which ATABEG CHA'VELI repaired; the *Band i Kessár*, above mentioned. Through inadvertency I omitted to remark that it is this work which causes the water to fall seventeen or eighteen feet at the bridge of *Gáwakán*, as noticed in p. 179. See also in p. 181 a quotation from HAFIZ ABRU' respecting the name *Bandemír*.

applicable to the rivers of Persepolis; I shall not here pretend to remove difficulties which have baffled such men as Salmasius and Vossius, although they assume the licence of correcting errours, real or imaginary, in Strabo, Ptolemy and other writers. Even D'Anville has not been able to satisfy himself perfectly on this subject; he allows that the *Bandemír* is the Araxes, but the Medus he inclines to believe the *Kur*. Now we know that the *Kur* is the *Bandemír*, and receives a smaller stream (the *Parwáb* or *Palwár)* as the Araxes, according to Strabo, received the Medus. We must therefore regard the *Bandemír*, *Kur*, and Araxes as one river; but D'Anville cannot reconcile this with the *Kuros* of Pasargadæ, which he wishes to place at *Pasá* or *Fasá*, (Geogr. Anc.) His difficulties would have vanished had he supposed the identity of Pasargadæ and Persepolis. I am aware that against an absolute identity some passages of Strabo and Arrian may be opposed; they indicate a difference; but so slight that Salmasius who quotes one, immediately infers from it the necessary proximity of Pasargadæ to Persepolis(138); and Mr. Hoeck has most inge-

(138) Strabo (Lib. XV) informs us that Alexander having burnt the palace of Persepolis to avenge the Greeks, immediately after went to Pasargadæ.—*Ενεπρησε δε ο Αλεξανδρος τα εν Περσαιπολει βασιλεια—ειτ' εις Πασαργαδας ηκε.* On this Salmasius remarks, "Non longe itaque Pasargadas à Persepoli sitas fuisse oportet." (Plin. Exercit. p. 846, Traj. ad Rhen 1689). The same inference may be drawn from a passage of Arrian, (quoted in note 122, p. 320), and another (in p. 321), also one from his sixth book, (ch 30), where he says that Alexander having visited the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, returned to the Palace which he had destroyed, and which

niously maintained an opinion that these were the names of places, so near as to be, in fact, parts of the same city; yet sufficiently distinct to justify a difference of denomination. He notices the great extent of Eastern capitals, and remarks that although belonging to one city, the palace which Alexander burned may have been at no inconsiderable distance from the Tomb of Cyrus; he observes (after the learned Heeren) that the ancients always connect the names of Persepolis and Pasargadæ in such a manner as proves a vicinity; that Pasargadæ owed its origin (like many other cities of the East) to a camp (Στρατοπεδον, Steph. Byzant. in Passargardæ) which remained on the spot where Cyrus with his Persians conquered Astyages the Mede, until from successive fortifications it assumed the appearance of a castle, especially that part wherein the Monarch himself resided, and was entombed. Although it soon became a city, this place was still called the Persian camp; a name which preserved the memory of an important victory, and of the foundation of the Persian Monarchy. But Mr. Hoeck does not ascribe to Cyrus that palace of which the remains have been entitled *Chehl minár* or *Takht i Jemshíd*, and a city adjoining; these he regards as an amplification of Pasargadæ, made by Darius the son of Hystaspes; and these constitute, says he, what the Greeks in

Diodorus, Strabo, Curtius, Plutarch and others agree in placing at Persepolis; Ενθεν δε εις τα βασιλεια ηει των Περσων. These words would be very obscure, as Mr. Hoeck remarks, (Vet. Med. et Pers. Monum. p. 63), if the place did not belong to the same city in which Alexander then resided.

a stricter sense, denominated Persepolis. Both this and Pasargadæ were situate on the river *Kur* or *Bandemír*, (called by the ancient writers Cyrus and Araxes), Pasargadæ lying Eastward, Persepolis Westward; (See "Veteris Mediæ et Persiæ Monumenta," pp. 59, 63, 65, 67).

The valuable work just quoted must be itself consulted by those who desire to examine Mr. Hocck's arguments; most of which, in my judgment, seem irrefragable. I have here but superficially exhibited the general result of his discussion on this subject, and through him, of Mr Heeren's opinion.

X. However Antiquaries and Geographers have thought differently respecting the site of Pasargadæ, they agree, it may be almost said unanimously, in regarding numerous monuments visibleo n the plain of *Marvdasht* or *Istakhr*, and among the adjacent mountains, as vestiges of Persepolis(139). Intelligent travellers have pronounced that ample, fertile and beautiful plain, with its abundant supplies of excellent

(139) I doubt whether the late Professor Tychsen of Rostoch, made any converts to his opiniou, that Susa, Pasargadæ and Persepolis were the same. (See his work quoted in p. 325). *Pasá* or *Fasá* has been most generally supposed Pasargadæ; but Vossius would place this ancient city at *Shiráz*, (Obs. ad Melam. Lib. III. c. 7), and Kæmpfer (Amœnit. Exot. p. 365), at *Pul i Fasá*, a spot which I have already noticed from my own observation, (See p. 66), as not presenting one vestige of antiquity. Moreri appears to have conversed with some anonymous traveller who had visited *Chehil minár*, and from his account would suppose it different from Persepolis. (Grand Dictionaire Historique, in Persepolis).

water, to be most happily adapted for the situation of a magnificent capital([140]); and in narrow chasms, between steep rocks of those mountains that Northward and Westward form an admirable barrier to this plain, their imagination has discovered the passes fortified by Ariobarzanes against the approach of Alexander from Susiana([141]). The

([140]) "Quella gran pianura che ben si vede essere stato sito al proposito," &c. (P. della Valle, Lett. XV, 1621). Chardin says that the site of Persepolis is immediately recognised from the descriptions given by Arrian, Curtius and Diodorus; that the plain, watered by a thousand streams besides the Araxes, and *Pulouar*, abounds in the fattest cattle, the best wines, and handsomest horses of Persia; it is, he declares, one of the finest plains, "une des plus belles qu'on puisse voir." (Tome IX. p. 48, Rouen, 1723). Fryer mentions this "wealthy plain stored with all cattel, corn and wild "fowl, by the plentiful afflux of water,"—"whereby it might be a fit situation for the "mighty Persepolis, as it now is for store of country towns, besides whole armies of "*Nomades* or wandering shepherds," &c. (Trav. p. 253). The plain of *Marvdasht* was said to contain eight hundred and eighty villages, in the time of Le Brun (1704), who describes it as extending nearly forty leagues from North West to South East, (Voyages, p. 261, Amst. 1718); while Chardin allows only eighteen or nineteen leagues to what he styles, "la belle plaine de Persepolis." (Tome IX, p. 48); and that part which the city actually occupied, according to tradition, is a plain of seven farsangs (about twenty-five miles) in length and three farsangs in width, as Kæmpfer relates, (Amœn. Exot. p. 298).

([141]) Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Arrian. iii. Curt. v. &c. Chardin describes the *defilez* between steep and lofty mountains; passes about one hundred and fifty paces long and so narrow in some places as scarcely to admit three horses advancing abreast; yet by these avenues, says he, Alexander must have approached Persepolis. On the lofty projecting rocks that naturally defend this plain towards the West, were certainly stationed the Persian advanced guards who opposed Alexander. "C'etoit "infailliblement sur ces hautes buttes qu' etoient posez les Corps de Garde avancez "de Persepolis," &c. (Tome IX, p. 42, 49, Rouen, 1723). "Two mountains," says Dr Fryer, speaking of the plain, "shut up this happy campaign so as if nature had "taken special care of its security—so it is not unlikely that these were the strong-"holds Artibazanes defended against Alexander," (Trav. p. 253). In his map (p. 230) he places these strongholds, the "Pylæ Persicæ," about twenty miles from Persepolis.

last of those "Pylæ" or Streights where the Persians resisted Alexander, I am inclined to place fifteen or sixteen miles from the *Takht*, or about half way between this ruined edifice and *Máïn*, the chief town or village in the district of *Rámgard*(142). Having overcome the difficulties of this pass, and entered the plain, it is probable that Alexander, as we learn from the Ambrosian "Itinerary," proceeded without further opposition to Persepolis, where he seized on the treasures of Cyrus and of Xerxes, deposited there as in a place of perfect security, and burned the Royal Palace(143).

At what time a city was founded here, can only be conjectured; but we may believe that the plain of *Istakhr*, from many natural advantages which it offered above other situ-

(142) *Máïn* (مایین pronounced as *Maw'yeen* or *Moyeen* would be in English) is described by HAMDALLAH as a small city (*shahrek* شهرک) in the midst of a mountainous region; Della Valle styles it "una villa grossa," (Lett. xv. 1621); and Chardin says that it is "un gros bourg," of three hundred houses, (Tome IX. p. 42). The name, he thinks, signifies "fish;" deriving it, probably, from *máhi* (ماهي) or *máhyán* (ماهیان); but spelt as above, after HAMDALLAH in his Persian Geography, (Ch. xii) it cannot have any reference to these words.

(143) "Cæsis denique obstinatioribus fugatisve, ultra inoffensus transit Persepolim, "&c Cyri denique atque Xersii illic, ceu si tutius sitis, thesauris potitur —regia igni "abolita," &c. See the "Itinerarium Alexandri," (Sect. 67, published by Dr. Angelo Maio, in 1817, from a Manuscript of the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The anonymous author seems to have flourished in the fourth century. I must observe that the Persian capital is not named in any other passage throughout the Itinerary; and from the learned editor's note it appears that what he has rendered "*Persepolim*," is, in the MS. expressed by *pde*; this, from the *d*, I should have regarded as an abbreviation of *Pasargadæ*, still supposing it to signify Persepolis, or a place so near, that both might be easily confounded under either denomination.

ations, must have been in the earliest ages a favourite place of residence. I would suppose that it was the peculiar seat of those illustrious families, the Pasargadans or Perseidans, from whom Cyrus was descended in the paternal line(144); and that, like them, it derived the name of *Párs* (subsequently extended over a whole province of which it was the very heart, and rendered Persis by classick writers) from an ancient personage whom the Greeks, through a cloud of fable, recognise in their Perses or Perseus(145). To this plain of *Párs*, (since called from different portions, the plain of *Marvdasht*, *Istakhr* or *Kurbál*), Xenophon, in my opinion, alludes by the expression εις Περσας, (though seemingly

(144) Through the Achæmenidans. Herodotus says, of the Persian tribes, τουτεων Πασαργαδαι εισι αριστοι, εν τοισι δε Αχαιμενιδαι εισι φητρη, ενθεν οι βασιλεες οι Περσειδαι γεγονασι. (Lib. I. 125). "The Pasargadæ are most noble; from a branch of "them, the Achemænidæ, are descended the Perseidan kings." Of this *Perseidan* family was Cambyses, "King of the *Persians*," (Περσων βασιλευς) and father of Cyrus, as we learn from Xenophon, (Cyrop. lib. I).

(145) In a Persian MS. already quoted, (p. 317) the pedigree of PA'RS (پارس) son of PAHLAV (پهلو) has been traced up to Noah. Xenophon informs us that Cambyses (Cyrus's father) was of the Perseidan race, so denominated after Perseus,—ὁ δε Καμβυσες ουτος των Περσειδων γενους ην, οι δε Περσειδαι απο Περσεως κληιζονται. (Cyrop. lib. I, p. 2, Basil. 1572). According to Herodotus (lib. vii, 61) Perseus was the son of Jupiter and Danae, and had, by Andromeda daughter of Belus, a son called Perses, from whom the Persians derived their name. But the mother of Perses was Medea, as Stephanus Byzantius relates (in Περσαι); it was before his arrival in Greece, that Perseus had by Andromeda this Perses from whom the kings of the Persians are said to be descended, as we read in the Bibliotheca of Apollodorus, (lib. ii, p 77, edit. Commel. 1599); and who by some is supposed to have invented arrows; "sagittas "Persen Persei filium invenisse dicunt," (Plin. Nat. Hist. VII, 56); weapons which the Persians learned to use with preeminent dexterity.

more personal than local) when he relates that Cambyses having set out from his mansion (εξω της οικιας) with Cyrus, accompanied him to the borders of Persis; whence, after a mutual embrace, Cyrus proceeded "to the Medes" or into Media, and his father returned "to the Persians"(146). Wherever the same form of expression is used by Ctesias (and it frequently occurs when he mentions the sepulture of royal Persians) I would understand an allusion, not to the province of Persis, or to its inhabitants generally, but in a particular manner to *Pârs*, *Parsagarda*, or Persepolis(147).

That the illustrious Parsagardans or Achæmenidans, and perhaps some chiefs of other tribes occupying, long before Cyrus, the great Persepolitan plain, resided there in dwellings more substantial and commodious than the huts or tents of those husbandmen and shepherds over whom they

(146) Cyr. II. 1. Concerning this expression see the opinions of different commentators in the notes to Ælian's "Varia Historia," Gronovius's edition, (lib. I. c 31). Scheffer acknowledges that he does not comprehend it, and suspects a chasm Kuhn says "Atticum est pro εν Περσαις." Vulteius translates it "in Persiam." Gesner and others prefer "in Persia." Some "in Persidem," which Perizonius seems to approve, &c I have no doubt that Ælian, in the chapter above indicated, alludes to the plain of Persepolis; as in that which immediately follows, containing an anecdote of Artaxerxes and a Persian who offered to that monarch the only gift he could bestow, some water just taken up with both his hands from the river Kuros, the *Kur* or modern *Bandemir*. In the same sense I would read Justin's "in Persis," (Lib. I. c. 5).

(147) See the Fragments of Ctesias's Persian History, (Sect. 9, 13, 19, 43, 14, &c.) On other occasions he uses *Persis*; distinguishing, as I imagine, between the province and the capital; more particularly in the thirteenth section.

ruled, seems not improbable; but until he had ameliorated their condition (in the sixth century before Christ) that they could have boasted of any stately or considerable edifice, a palace, temple or castle, does not appear on the authority of Greek or Roman writers. Nor do their works, if I have rightly searched them, afford more than one passage wherein Persepolis is, unequivocally, named as a city existing before the establishment of Cyrus's great Empire([148]).

XI. Yet many learned men, partly adopting the Eastern traditions, assign Persepolis, or at least the edifice now called JEMSHI'D's Throne, to an age much earlier than that in which Cyrus flourished. Some who have offered opinions on the origin of that stupendous monument, we can scarcely believe serious([149]); and others seem extravagant when

([148]) This solitary instance (from the first book of Justin, chap. 6), shall be more particularly quoted in my next section The united testimonies of Herodotus (I. 71), Xenophon (Cyr. I. II. VII), Plato (de Legib. III), Arrian (V), Maximus Tyrius (Diss. XIV), and others, represent those tribes that inhabited Persis before the time of Cyrus, as living in a most abstemious and frugal manner, deriving their scanty subsistence from agricultural labour, or from flocks and herds which some of the families drove to pasture in different places, and guarded from depredation They wore trowsers and upper garments rudely made of skins, and existed without luxuries or even comforts, (ην ουτε αβρον ουτε αγαθον ουδεν, Herodot. I. 71); they scarcely knew the use of horses, says Xenophon (Cyr. I), and passed their lives in toil and want; being, as he styles them (lib. VII) κακοβιωτατοι. Arrian also notices their poverty, and compares their laws and customs with those of the austere Lacedæmonians, (lib. V).

([149]) A German author named "Witte," ascribes the magnificent objects visible at Persepolis, to an eruption of the earth! and another, "De Roesch," considers them as the work of Lamech, whose exploits during the Trojan war are exhibited in the

they undertake to estimate its antiquity. In the seventeenth century Chardin, as already quoted (p. 241), vaguely pronounced it "about four thousand years" old; but to these several hundreds are added by Bailly, after an astronomical calculation, and by D'Hancarville after him; both regarding the edifice as a work of JEMSHI'D, whose reign they date from the year three thousand two hundred and nine before Christ(150). Sir William Jones does not deny the probability that it was erected in the time of JEMSHI'D; placing this monarch, however, only eight hundred years before our era(151); and even M. de Sainte Croix supposes it to have been constructed long before Cyrus, although he holds the Arabian and Persian records in supreme contempt(152).

sculptures. By Troy, however, he understands Persia; Media by Europe, and Assyria by Asia; so that the Trojan war is not what we have hitherto fancied; but a war between the Medes and Persians; and the inscriptions record a series of kings from Cain to Lamech! For the knowledge of these authors I am indebted to Mr. Hoeck. (See his "Vet. Med. et Pers. Monum" p. 12).

(150) See Bailly's "Hist. de l'Astron. Anc." p. 354; and Supplement (p. 115), to "Recherches sur les Arts de la Grèce," Tome II. of D'Hancarville, whose opinion on this subject has been more fully quoted in p. 247.

(151) Discourse on the Persians, Asiat. Res. Vol. II. p. 55, (Lond. 1801, oct). Short Hist. of Persia prefixed to the Life of Nader Shah, Lond. 1783, p. xii.

(152) He thinks it probable that as the Greeks only frequented Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, before the time of Alexander, they knew but little concerning Persepolis until "the (partial) burning of its palace, built long before Cyrus,"—"l'incendie de son palais bati longtemps avant Cyrus." (Exam. Crit. des Histor. d' Alexandre, p. 678, 2de edit. 1804). The ruins of this palace he recognises in the Throne of JEMSHI'D, or "Hall of Forty Columns," (p. 312); and his opinion of the Arabian and Persian historians, their "erreurs, fables, inepties,"—"mensonges et absurdités," is declared in p. 173, 179, &c.

But we may believe that some of the Eastern writers only mean to declare its antiquity incalculable, when they attribute the Persepolitan edifice to spirits that existed before the creation of man; and its sculptured figures almost animated, when they pronounce them to have once been the living inhabitants miraculously petrified by a sudden transformation. According to one tradition noticed by D'Herbelôt (Biblioth. Orient. in *Estekhar)*, the Peries or Fairies erected Persepolis under the reign of *Ján ben Ján*, long before the time of Adam; and "*Istakhr*," says ABU'L'FEDA, "is one of the most ancient cities in Persia, and was formerly the royal residence; it contains the vestiges of buildings so stupendous that, like *Tadmor* and *Baalbek*, they are said to be the work of supernatural beings"(153).

From another writer we learn that "the people of *Istakhr*, having been very wicked, the Almighty turned them into stone; and even now," adds he, "we may behold there the forms of women reposing with their husbands; of butchers cutting meat into pieces; of infants in their cra-

(153) اصطخر من اقدم مدن فارس و بها كان سرير الملك في القديم و بها اثار عظيمة من الابنية حتي يقال انها من عمل الجن مثل ما يقال عن تدمر و بعلبك

See the Geographical Fragments of ABULFEDA, published in Arabick with a Greek translation; at Vienna, 1807, p. 270; and, without any translation, ("Abulfedæ Tabulæ quædam Geographicæ," &c.) by Rinck, (Lips. 1791), p. 18. The account of *Istakhr* seems borrowed from EBN HAUKAL, (Orient. Geogr. p. 129), to whom ABU'LFEDA acknowledges frequent obligations.

"dles; of bread in ovens, and of many other things, all "become marble(154).

But less marvellous accounts of this place are found in Oriental Manuscripts, some of which I shall proceed to quote, observing, as far as their respective dates can be ascertained, a chronological order.

In the work of EBN AASIM, (already noticed, page 312), describing those victories which, about the middle of the seventh century, rendered Persia tributary to the Arabian *Khalifah*, we read that YEZDEGERD, (يزدجرد last sovereign of the Sassanian family), dreading the enemy's approach, fled from *Istakhr* into *Kirmán*, where he took shelter with HEZA'RMARD (هزارمرد), one of those petty kings who appear to have been at this time very numerous throughout the empire. Another of those kings (ملكي از ملوك عجم) named SHAH-

(154) اصطخر—اهل آن شهر بد بودند حق سبحانه تعالي ايشانرا سنگ ساخته و حالا آن مشاهده توان كرد صورت زن كه با زمج خود خفته است و قصاب گوشت پاره ميكند و كودك در گهواره و نان در تنور و غير همه سنگ شده اند

This passage is extracted from the *Shejret Al Mustafevi* (شجرة المصطفوي) a very rare work in the collection of Sir Charles W. R. Boughton, who obligingly allowed me to peruse it, with others of his valuable Manuscripts. It is a large Volume, of between eight and nine hundred pages, containing a genealogical history of man from Adam, through Noah, the Patriarchs, Prophets, ancient Kings, Christ, Muhammed, the Khalifahs, and Moghul sovereigns of India, to the time of MUHAMMED SHA'H, when the work was compiled, (A. H. 1140, of our era 1727), by SEYED JA'N MUHAMMED TAKKI AL HUSEINI AL CA'DERI, (سيد جان محمد تقي الحسيني القادري) from one hundred and thirty different authors. The latter part comprises a geographical account of various countries.

REG (شهرک) or SHA'HEK (شاهک), was appointed governor of *Istakhr*, which with the neighbouring places furnished troops to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand men; these he embodied, resolving to defend a city so generally reckoned the boast of Persia (اصطخر عجم را بمنزلت پر و بالست) that the national glory would be implicated in its fall. A battle ensued, the Arabs under ABU' MU'SA (ابو موسي) proved victorious; SHAHREG was slain, and the people of *Istakhr* paid two hundred thousand *dirhems* (درهم or درم *direm*, pieces of silver coin) to obtain a respite from the presence of their foes. They did not, however, enjoy it long; ABDALLAH BEN AAMER (عبدالله بن عامر) led his troops into *Párs;* and fought with the Persians, who were commanded by MA'HEK (ماهک) son of their late governor SHAHREG, in the plain of *Istakhr* (در صحرا اصطخر) from the dawn of day until the time of meridian prayer; MA'HEK fled, and after many obstinate battles the city was taken by storm; all the armed men found in it were slain, and considerable pillage obtained; but it appears that MA'HEK was reinstated there by the Arabian general who proceeded to new conquests in *Khurasán*. So far from EBN AASIM of *Kúfah.*

TABRI, who flourished in the ninth century and died early in the tenth, informs us that king Solomon occasionally left the "Holy House" or Jerusalem, to visit "*Tabristán* and "*Gurkán*, (or Hyrcania), and sometimes resided at *Istakhr* of "*Párs;* and in these places the vestiges of his palaces yet

"remain"(155). I have here quoted the Persian translation of TABRI's great Chronicle; but a fragment of the original Arabick enables me to add that *Istakhr* was the seat of MINU'CHEHR, and other ancient kings; and that several centuries after Solomon, king GUSHTASP deposited the *Zend*, or sacred volume which ZERDUSHT (Zoroaster) had brought to him; "in a place at *Istakhr* called *Dernebisht*"(156). Yet the grand-daughter of GUSHTASP, Queen HUMA'NI (حمانی) or rather HUMA'I (همای), is said to have built the city of *Istakhr* (و بنت مدینه اصطخر). On the death of ARDASHI'R, (also surnamed BAHMAN), who was both her father and husband, she had "exposed her infant in an ark or box, with many "valuable jewels, on the river *Kur* in the territory of *Istakhr*,

(155) و کاه بطبرستان و کرکان بودي و کاه باصطخر پارس بودي و بدین جایها اثر کوشکهاي او مانده است To many ruined structures in different parts of Persia, this Jewish monarch's name is strangely attached. I shall have occasion to notice some besides those mentioned in p. 28, 41, 45, &c.

(156) في موضع من اصطخر یقال له درنبشت The valuable MS. from which I have extracted this passage is preserved in the British Museum (Cotton. Lib. Vitell. A. IV). It contains the second Volume, or about one fourth part of TABRI's original Arabick work; and has been more fully described in my account of some MSS. belonging to our great national library, (See the "Oriental Collections," Vol. II. p. 185). On the authority of a Persian MS. hereafter quoted (the *Zein al Akhbár*), I have written *Dernebisht* for a name which in TABRI's fragment appears (though indistinctly) like *Dersist* (درسست), and which Hyde (after an Arabian author, BUNDARI) expresses by زربیشت *Zerbisht*. (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 314 Ox. 1700). Most of the Persian proper names are inaccurately written in the Fragment; this, however, we may regard as a literary curiosity in Europe; for even among the Asiaticks it is doubtful whether a perfect copy of TABRI's Arabick Chronicle could be procured at any price. A fragment was found among Archbishop Laud's MSS. by Ockley; (Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. II. Introd. p. xxxiii.)

"although some refer this transaction to a river in *Balkh*; "and the box floated until it was found by a man of *Istakhr*, "a miller;" who educated the child, afterwards king DA'RA'(157). TABRI, also in his Arabick fragment, thus mentions three magnificent works of Queen HUMA'I; "First, some "edifices in the city of *Istakhr*. Secondly, those one farsang "distant from *Istakhr*, on the road that leads to *Darábgerd;* "thirdly, some on the road leading to *Khurasán*, at the dis- "tance of four farsangs from *Istakhr*"(158). I have not traced this city lower in TABRI's Arabick fragment; but, according to the Persian translation, *Párs* (in the second century) was divided, into several districts, each governed by a chief or petty king of the *Bázerenjián* (بازرنجيان), or (as in one MS.) the *Barzenjián* (برزنجيان) race, from whom ARDASHI'R, son of BA'BEK, and grandson of SASA'N, derived his origin maternally. *Istakhr* was the residence of a king named JAUHER (جوهر), and the Fire-temple of that city, and a

(157) فجعلته في تابوت وصيرت معه جواهرا نفيسا و اجرته في نهر الكر من ارض اصطخر و قال بعضهم بل نهر بلخ و ان التابوت صار الي رجل طحان من اهل اصطخر

(158) احد ذلك البنيان في مدينه اصطخر و الثاني علي المدرجه التي تسلك فيها الي دران الحرد علي فرسخ من هذه المدينه و الثالثه علي اربع فراسخ منها في المدرجه التي تسلك فيها الي خراسان These particulars are not found in any copy of the Persian translation that I have examined; HUMA'I, it merely states, built the city of *Istakhr* in *Párs*, and there resided thirty years. Yet D'Herbelôt thinks it "more curious" than the original Arabick; being enriched with many additions from books of the Fire worshippers. (Bibl. Orient. art. *Thabari*). The name *Daránalherd* I have rendered *Darábgerd;* (See the MS. *Mujmel al Tuárikh* hereafter quoted).

neighbouring village were under BA'BEK's care when, early in the third century, ARDASHI'R began his ambitious course; caused the king of *Istakhr* to be slain; and soon rendered himself not only ruler of *Párs* but of *Kirmán*, and finally monarch of all *Irán* or Persia, thus founding the *Sasanian* dynasty; for ARDAVA'N (اردوان), called by our historians Artabanus, whom the petty kings acknowledged as their chief, fell in battle by the hand of ARDASHI'R, and with him terminated the Arsacidan empire. Those petty kings ARDASHI'R utterly destroyed; and on one occasion having "slain a mul-"titude of people at *Marv*, he sent their heads to *Párs*, that "they might be placed on stakes over the gate of the Fire-"temple at *Istakhr*." (See this passage in Persian, Vol. I. p. 138). I shall not here notice every slight incidental mention of this city, but state that under SHAPU'R the second, who reigned during most of the fourth century, *Nisíbín* (نصیبین) having been deserted, was repeopled by him with "twelve "thousand families which he removed from *Istakhr* of *Párs*, "and established there"(159). At *Istakhr* we read that YEZDEGERD was concealed when invited to ascend (in 632) the throne which he lost, with his life, in 651. But it appears that before this event the Arabs had made an unsuccessful attack on *Istakhr*; for one of OMAR's generals, anxious to distinguish himself, embarked with an army at *Bahrein*, cross-

(159) شاپور دوازده هزار خانه از اصطخر پارس انجا خواست و بنشاند

ed the Persian Gulf, and advanced to that city, before which the troops of SHAHREG defeated them in several actions; both parties having lost a great number of men, the Arabs with difficulty effected their retreat. This happened in 639; but *Istakhr*, five years after, was yielded by capitulation to the *Muselmáns*. It appears, however, that the people of *Párs* did not quietly submit to their foreign oppressors; for in the year 28, (A. D. 648), they revolted and slew at *Istakhr* the Arabian governor; in consequence of which, ABDALLAH BEN AAMER (عبد الله بن عامر) was sent by the *Khalifah* (OTHMAN) with troops from *Basrah* to *Istakhr*, where they massacred (و بسیار بکشت از مردمان اصطخر) great multitudes of the inhabitants; and as one *Emír* or chief had not been capable of ruling *Párs*, the *Khalifah* inflicted on that unfortunate province the curse of five governors. According to two out of four copies, we find (A. H. 42, A. D. 662) the Arabian general ZIA'D going to that castle at *Istakhr* which he had himself erected (زیاد برفت باصطخر شد بدان قلعه که خود بنا کرده بود). The name of this city again occurs (the last time, I believe, in TABRI's chronicle) on occasion of a governor sent there A. H. 72. A. D. 691.

EBN HAUKAL a traveller of the tenth century, frequently mentions *Istakhr* in his "Oriental Geography," which I translated and published many years ago. According to this printed work (p. 82) *Istakhr* was the most considerable *kúreh* (کوره) or district in all *Párs*; as it extended about sixty farsangs

(p. 86). A strongly fortified citadel defended the town (p. 93), and a castle called *Saied Abád* was distant "one farsang "from the *kúreh* of *Istakhr*," (p. 94). This city, more ancient than any other in *Párs*, was of middling size, extending about one mile; it had been the residence of ARDASHI'R and other kings. Solomon, the son of David, came in one day from *Taberiah*, as tradition relates, to *Istakhr*, where there is a mosque that bears his name; but Solomon has been erroneously confounded with JEM (or JEMSHI'D). *Istakhr* was well peopled in former times; and a bridge called the *Khurásán* bridge, is without the city (p. 100). There are statues and inscriptions in the great edifice at *Istakhr*, which, as some say, was a temple of Solomon, constructed by *Dives* or Demons; similar works are found in Syria, Baalbek and Egypt; and a kind of apple grows in the territory of *Istakhr*, half of which is sweet, half sour (p. 129). This information I shall here correct or extend according to a fine manuscript copy of EBN HAUKAL'S work, acquired since his "Oriental Geography" issued from the press(160).

Istakhr is represented in that Manuscript as "the best "and most ancient" (بهترین و قدیمترین) division of *Párs*. Its

(160) The MS. to which I allude is distinguished by the title of *Súr al beldán*, which it bears although EBN HAUKAL'S work was properly named *Mesálek al Memálek*. Respecting the MS. *Súr al beldán*, and the maps with which it is illustrated, See Vol. I. p. 228, and p. 230. It has enabled me to correct a multiplicity of errours in that defective copy from which I translated the "Oriental Geography."

city (in the tenth century) had a fortress. The situation of *Saied ábád* is more fully described than in the printed work as above quoted; for we read (قلعه سعیدابادِ برامجرد که از کوره اصطخر است) that "this castle which is at *Rámgerd*, in the *kúreh* or district "of *Istakhr*" stands on a vast and lofty mountain of difficult access, from the summit of which to the castle is a distance of about one farsang. *Istakhr* was at that time, "equal in ex- "tent to two sixths of a farsang;" the most ancient and cele- "brated city in *Párs*; and the sovereigns of that region always "resided there until the time when king ARDASHI'R removed "the seat of his empire to *Júr* (or *Gúr* گور)"(161). The journey of Solomon from *Taberiah* is then noticed, as in the printed work; also a temple called "the *Masjed of Suleimán* the pro- "phet," (مسجد سلیمان پیغمبر). "And in early ages (continues "the MS.) *Istakhr* was surrounded with a rampart of which "at present there are not any remains; and the houses of that "city are chiefly constructed of stone and mortar according "to the means and inclination of the respective proprietors; "and "the *Khurasán* bridge," is at the city gate in the di- "rection of *Khurasán*; and in our days some houses have "been erected behind (or beyond) this bridge; a circumstance

(161) و فراخي ان بمقدار دو دانک فرسنکي باشد و قديمترين و مشهورترين شهرها فارس اينست و ملوک ان اقليم پيوسته در انجا اقامت ساخته و متوطن بودندي تا انکاه که ملک اردشير دارالملک خودرا بجور نقل کرد MS. *Súr al beldán*.

Respecting *Júr* (now called *Fírúzábád*), See the Appendix.

"that did not occur in ancient times"(162). Among the wonders of *Párs* are first enumerated several lofty structures of stone, which, as above mentioned, tradition assigns to Solomon and the *Dívcs*; "and here are sculptured figures "and columns, and the forms of those mansions once occu- "pied by the tribe of AAD are, even now, presented to our "view in this edifice which resembles in magnitude that "visible at *Baalbek*(163).

Next after EBN HAUKAL's Geography, we open the great *Sháh Námeh* or "Book of Kings," composed by FIRDAUSI, who was born about the year 950. This work presents, among (at least) one hundred and twenty thousand Persian verses, the name of *Istakhr* in twenty-eight different passa-

(162) در ایام قدیم و عهد بعید در حوالي اصطخر سوري بوده است و این ساعت از ان چیزي باقي نیست و بنا خانهاي ان شهر اغلب از سنگ و گچ بقدر وسع طاقت صاحب البیت براورده است و قنطره خراسان بدروازه شهر است از طرف خراسان و در عهد و ایام ما از پس قنطره خراسان خانهاي چند ساخته اند که در قدیم الدهر نبوده است

MS. *Súr al beldán.*

(163) و در ان صورتها و استونها نگاشته کرده و طلل خانها قوم عاد الي یومنا هذا در ان موضع مشاهده مي افتد—و ان بنا بخانها که در بعلبک دید مي شود شبهتي دارد در بزرگي MS. *Súr al beldán.* The descendants of AAD, great grandson of Noah, built a most magnificent city and palace with a wonderful garden; but were destroyed for their impiety by a parching or suffocating wind. See the *Korán*, in many places, particularly Chapter XLVI, v. 25. فاصبحوا لا ترى الا مساكنهم "And in the "morning nothing was to be seen, besides their empty dwellings," as Sale translates the passage; See also his Introduction to the *Korán*, (Sect. I).

ges(164); to many of these, a slight reference will suffice as they yield but little information on the subject; a few, however, must be particularly noticed; thus the first lines in which FIRDAUSI mentions that ancient capital; showing its importance before the the reign of CAI KOBA'D (كي قباد) who preceded our era by 610 years, as Sir W. Jones calculates; but if we adopt the Eastern accounts, by many centuries more. When that prince, says the poet, was called to the imperial throne, "he set out" (from his northern residence near Mount *Alburz* كوه البرز), "and proceeded towards *Párs*; for in "*Párs* was the key to the treasures; *Istakhr* then became "his dwelling-place; it was the glory of the nobles."(165),

(164) See p. 310; also Vol. I. pref. p. ix, for a remark on the infinite variety of readings found in different copies of the *Sháhnámeh*. Respecting *Istakhr*, some do not exhibit that name so often as others, but I have taken as the standard work on this subject my best copy, a beautiful MS. of very large folio size, embellished with a multiplicity of pictures and splendid illuminations executed while yet ingenious artists were liberally patronised in Persia by their great and opulent countrymen.

(165) از انجا سوي پارس اندر كشيد — كه در پارس بد كنجهارا كليد
نشستنكه اتكاه اصطخر بود — مهانرا بدان‌ج ايكه فخر بود

To these lines, in one copy alone, but not the best of five now before me, a distich is added بدان شانزده ميل دوران زشهر — همه كنجهاي جهان داد بهر which seems to imply, (for I am not satisfied with my own translation and suspect an errour in the MS.) that "he there, within a compass of sixteen miles about the city, "bestowed on every person all the treasures of the world." Some verses immediately preceding the mention of *Istakhr*, record many splendid gifts which CAI KOBA'D lavished on various chiefs at the commencement of his reign. Although the poet has not named *Istakhr* on an earlier occasion, one hundred and fourteen lines beginning JEMSHI'D's eventful story (كرانمايه جمشيد فرزند او), have been applied by the ingenious Hagemann to an explanation of the Persepolitan sculptures; (Monumenti Persepolitani e Ferdusio Illustratio, Gotting. 1801). In a passage following this by nearly

Under the next Monarch, CAI CAUS (كي كاوس), a mansion belonging to the illustrious CASHVA'D was situate in *Istakhr* (يكى كاخ كشواد بد در صطخر) which, as a preceding passage indicates, was at that time (شهركاوس شاه) the "city of king CAUS;" where, we subsequently learn, he received CAI KHUSRAU (كي خسرو or Cyrus), on his arrival from *Isfáhán*, and afterwards resigned to him the throne, on his return from the (دژ بهمن) *Dizh i Bahman*, a fortress near (اردبيل) *Ardebíl*, وز انجا سوي پارس بنهاد روي(166). Here, also, CAI KHUSRAU beginning his reign, caused to be written in a *defter* or register, the names of those warlike chiefs who held high situations in the

1700 distichs, I have sometimes fancied an allusion to the stately edifice at *Istakhr*; it occurs in the history of ZOHA'K, who having usurped the throne of king JEMSHI'D, was disturbed by a portentous dream, from which he started with such loud exclamations that "the *palace of an hundred columns*, trembled at the sound."

كه لرزان شد ان خانه صد ستون

(166) The learned Stanley thought that Æschylus differed much from other ancient writers, in enumerating the sovereigns of Persia; but an ingenious commentator endeavours to reconcile his account with that given by Herodotus, (See Schutz's edit. of Æsch. Pers. excurs. ii. Halle, 1801). "He who first led the army," says the tragick poet, (Persæ, v. 761), "was a Mede; the next, his son, completed the work, his mind "being directed by wisdom; the third was Cyrus, a fortunate (or happy) man."—

Μηδος γαρ ην ο πρωτος ηγεμων στρατου,
Αλλος δ' εκεινου παις τοδ' εργον ηνυσε,
Φρενες γαρ αυτου θυμον οιακοστροφουν,
Τριτος δ' απ' αυτου Κυρος, ενδαιμων ανηρ.

These, according to Sir Isaac Newton, (Chronol. p. 309, 1728), were "*Cy Axeres*, "the word *Cy* signifying a Prince," his son *Darius* the *Mede*, and *Cyrus* "a happy "man for his great success under and against *Darius*, and large and peaceable domin"ion in his own reign."—"It is evident," says Sir William Jones, "that these three "kings are *Cai Cobád*, *Cai Câus*, and *Cai Cosru* or *Khosru*," (Short Hist. of Persia, prefixed to Life of Nader Shah, p. xlvi. oct. Lond. 1773).

Persian army(167); and among these are enumerated "seventy "principal men of *Istakhr*, led by the valiant FARHA'D, who "in battle was like a ponderous iron hammer," or the knocker with which strangers announce their arrival at the outer gate of a mansion(168). This passage, it must be acknowledged, does not occur in every copy of the *Sháhnámeh;* and another, which soon follows, I have found but in one; the best, however, of my collection. It describes among what may perhaps be styled the armorial bearings of CAI KHUSRAU's generals, that device representing the head of a wild bull or buffalo, (درفشي بسان سر گاومیش) which distinguished "the banner of FARHA'D (above-named) the chosen hero of "*Istakhr*"(169). Immediately before the line beginning thus

(167) May we suppose this *defter* (دفتر) or list of Cyrus's generals, to have been preserved among those royal *diphtheræ* (εκ των βασιλικων διφθερων) the ancient records probably written on parchment, which Ctesias inspected during a residence of many years at the Persian court, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. II)? In one copy of FIRDAUSI'S work, the Princes and generals whose names were registered on this occasion by Cyrus, amounted to eight hundred and sixty one; each commanding a numerous body of soldiers.

(168) بزرگان اصطخر هفتاد مرد همه گرد گردنکش تیز گرد
به ایشان نکهدار فرهاد بود که در چنگ سندان فولاد بود

The last line would more obviously compare FARHA'D to a "Steel anvil;" but as this rather receives than gives blows, I have adopted the second meaning allowed to *sindán* in the *Jehángíri* and other Manuscript Dictionaries.

(169) گزین صطخر ست فرهاد نام Yet on one occasion (when however the name of *Istakhr* is not mentioned) FARHA'D bears on his banner the figure of an *ahú*, a fawn or antelope (یکي پیکر اهو درفش از برش). Had any Orientalist of M. D'Hancarville's acquaintance communicated to him the first line above quoted, we might,

in five copies, بدژ در یکي جاي and alluding to a fortress, my best manuscript has a distich not found in the other four;

به اصطخر بد یک دژي نامور که ان دژ بدي کان گنج و گهر

"at *Istakhr* was a celebrated fortress, rich as a mine in jew-"els and various treasures;" and here were lodged GARSI'-VEZ (گرسیوز) and JEHEN (جهن), the brother and son of AFRA'-SIA'B (افراسیاب), besides many females of that monarch's family, whom CAI KHUSRAU, after a series of victories, had sent from *Turán* (توران) or Scythia. We now pass to the history of DA'RA' (دارا) or Darius, whose Persian dominions having been invaded by SEKANDER (سکندر) or Alexander, "such "numerous armies went forth from *Istakhr* that their lances "obstructed the wind in its progress"(170). After battles and other transactions we read that DA'RA' "marched from *Jah-*"*rum* (a town noticed in p. 109) to *Istakhr*," which is again described as "the pride and glory of illustrious Persians;"

زجهرم بیامد بشهر اصطخر که ازادکانرا بدان بود فخر

and (about fifty lines after) that he led forth (بیاورد از اصطخر) immense bodies of troops from *Istakhr;* but these were de-

perhaps, have seen it adduced in support of his fanciful system respecting the Persepolitan ox or bull ("Recherches," &c. Tome II. Supplem.); and this ingenious antiquary might have endeavoured to explain the incongruity between FARHA'D'S banners, by assigning the bull to *Istakhr* as a city, the antelope to FARHA'D himself.

(170) بر فتند از اصطخر چندان سپاه که از نیزه بر باد بر بست راه

For the first word (*beraftend*) one copy reads *beráverd* (براورد) "he brought from "*Istakhr* such a numerous army," &c.

feated, and the triumphant "Alexander entered *Istakhr*, of *Párs*, the royal crown, the glory of that country."

سکندر بیامد به اصطخر پارس که دیهیم شاهان بد و فخر پارس

We learn next that the Macedonian hero, in his turn, led forth a mighty army from *Istakhr*; and that on the death of Darius he invited the "*púshídah rúián*" (پوشیده رویان) "those "whose faces were veiled," the princesses of Darius's family, to remove from *Isfahán* where they had taken refuge, and become his guests at *Istakhr*, (بنه سوي شهر اصطخر اورید) He himself had arrived from *Kirmán* at *Istakhr*, and in this city placed on his head the imperial crown;

زکرمان بیامد بشهر اصطخر بسر برنهاد ان کي تاج فخر

here also, according to one copy, RU'SHANG or Roxana, the daughter of Darius having arrived (چوشد روشنک سوي اصطخر), became the wife of Alexander. FIRDAUSI devotes but a few distichs to the account of those kings who reigned during an interval of five hundred years, between Alexander and Artaxares or ARDASHI'R the son of BA'BEK. Yet in this portion of his work we find *Istakhr* mentioned; for it appears that BA'BEK resided there as governor, by appointment of ARDAVA'N I. BUZURG (اردوان بزرگ) or Artabanus the Great, last monarch of the Arsacidan dynasty (به اصطخر بد بابک از دست او); we have already seen how TABRI connects BA'BEK and his warlike son ARDASHI'R with the territory and city of *Istakhr*; in like manner FIRDAUSI often introduces its name into the history, not only of ARDASHI'R, but of those kings descended from him and entitled *Sásanián*, or *Sassanidæ*, after his an-

cestor SA'SA'N (ساسان). Thus, early in the fourth century, SHA'PU'R the second, (نشستنکه شاه اصطخر کرد) "made *Istakhr* "his royal dwelling place," though we read that he occasionally visited Ctesiphon, where many succeeding monarchs of his race appear to have principally resided. *Istakhr* is again described, under SHA'PU'R's reign, as the glory of Persia; and in that city was the court of YEZDEGERD the first, to which his son BAHRA'M, styled GU'R, (بهرم کور) proceeded from Arabia where he had been educated, (چنین تا بشهر اصطخر امدند) and after a grand hunting party BAHRA'M having bestowed money on his attendants, returned to *Istakhr* where he placed the imperial crown upon his head.

درم داد و امد بشهر صطخر بسر بر نهاد گي تاج فخر

and in a former part of this work (Vol. I, p. 136) FIRDAUSI's words have been quoted, relating BAHRA'M's journey from Media to Persepolis. Here also, early in the fifth century, "KOBA'D an illustrious prince, ascended the throne, and "crowned himself with the *kuláh* or cap of supreme great- "ness; he then proceeded to *Teisfún* (or Ctesiphon) from "*Istakhr*, a city in which the nobles gloried."

چو بر تخت بنشست فرخ قباد کلاه بزرگي به سر بر نهاد

سوي طيسفون شد ز شهر اصطخر که ازادکانرا بدان بود فخر

In the course of his reign *Istakhr* is again mentioned, but without any circumstance requiring particular notice. Near the close of the sixth century we find king HORMUZ (هرمز), "passing two months of every year at *Istakhr* when the dark "nights were shortest; for of that place the air was so cool

"and pure that he could not prevail on himself to leave it"(171). Early in the seventh century KHUSRAU surnamed PARVI'Z (خسرو پرویز), and by our historians, denominated "Chosroes," bestowed the government of *Istakhr* on one of his chiefs; in some copies the name is here written اصطرخ *Istarakh*, (See p. 310, note 106); and this place is finally mentioned by FIRDAUSI when he relates that a "chosen cavalier from the city "of *Istakhr*," (گزیده سواري ز شهر اصطخر) excited the Persians to depose a king whose misconduct, though he reigned little more than seven weeks, had disgusted all his subjects(172).

Next to FIRDAUSI's *Sháhnámah* in my list of manuscripts that mention *Istakhr*, or the "Hall of a thousand columns,"

(171) زسالي به اصطخر بودي دو ماه که کوتاه بودي شبان سیاه
که شهري خنک بود روشن هوا از انجا کذشتن نبودي روا

Such is the text in four MSS; but a fifth reads "three" months for "two," and adds some lines which the other copies want; showing to what different places king HORMUZ removed as the season varied. That his predecessors changed their abodes several times every year we learn from the classical authority of Xenophon, (Cyr. viii), Athenæus, (xii) and others; these, however, do not wholly agree with our Persian MS. as to the places of royal residence. In a future work I shall resume this subject.

(172) While engaged in making these extracts from FIRDAUSI's great Poem, I collaterally examined two prose abridgments; one made by a *Párs*í or Fire-worshipper of Surat; the other by a Muhammedan; for such works among the Asiaticks, though many important passages be omitted, sometimes contain much that we cannot find in the originals. But *Istakhr* is not mentioned by the *Párs*í; while its name occurs several times in the *Muselmán's* abridgment which represents it as the scene of a great battle between the armies of Darius and Alexander,

(چنک برامده در اصطخر پارس هر دو لشکر باهم پیوستند)

a circumstance not evident from the text of FIRDAUSI. In the Appendix I shall more fully notice these two abridgments.

is the *Mujmel al Tuárikh* (مجمل التواريخ), or "Abstract of Chronicles," dated by its anonymous author in the year 520, corresponding to 1126 of the Christian era. This most valuable Persian work was brought from Cairo by Vansleb; and is now deposited in the Royal Library at Paris, (MS. No. 62), where I had an opportunity (in 1816) of perusing its twenty-five sections, and transcribing some(173). We learn from one passage that while CAI CA'US governed *Irán*, Solomon exercised both a prophetick and regal sway over the Israelites in Syria; "and, as tradition relates, CA'US requested of So-"lomon, that by his command, the *Dives* or demons, should "be employed in building for him; and the immense struc-"ture in *Párs*, that called the "Throne or seat of Solomon, "*(Kursi Suleimán)* and others, were erected for CAI CA'US "by the *dives*; and this information we derive from the Chro-"nicle of TABRI. But Solomon was contemporary with "CAI KHUSRAU, according to another account; and HAM-"ZAH ISFAHA'NI in his book offers some remarks on the "Throne of Solomon, and denies to this edifice the origin "above assigned; for it exhibits many figures of hogs sculp-"tured in stone; and there are not any living creatures more

(173) Here I must join a very numerous crowd in acknowledging the liberality, attention and politeness of the gentlemen who preside in the various departments of that noble institution, the Bibliothèque du Roi; since with every due care for the preservation of the objects committed to their charge, they seem at all times most prompt in facilitating the researches not only of persons formally introduced and recommended, but of strangers however humble and unknown, and from whatever country.

"odious than swine to the children of Israel. And he fur-
"ther says, that it contains inscriptions in *Pahlavi;* which a
"certain *Múbed* (or priest of the Fire-worshippers) was once
"brought there to read; and among those inscriptions some
"declared "*that the edifice had been constructed in the time of*
"JEM, *on such a month and such a day.*" These (adds he) and
"many other *Pahlavi* inscriptions I thought it unnecessary to
"copy, for an explanation could not have been derived from
"the mere forms of letters whilst I was ignorant of their pow-
"ers; and that (Throne of Solomon) has been called *Hezár*
"*Sutún*, or "The Thousand Columns;" and on other edifices
"there are inscriptions containing memorials of TAHMURAS;
"but such works seem almost too difficult for human abilities;
"while, as it is said, the *dives* or demons were subservient to
"JEMSHI'D and to TAHMURAS"(174). We next read that

(174) چنین گویند که کاوس از وي بخواست تا دیوان را بفرماید تا از بهر او عمارت کنند و ان بناها که به پارس است بدان عظیمي و انکه کرسي سلیمان خوانند و دیکر جایها ایشان کرده اند کیکاوس‌را و این در تاریخ طبریست و بروایتي کویند سلیمان بعهد کیخسرو بود و حمزه الاسفهاني منکرست اندر حال کرسي در کتاب الاسفهاني همي شرح دهد و بران سنکها برصورت خوک بسیار کردست و هیچ جانور بر بني اسرایل دشمنتر از خوک نیست و بر انجا نبشتها هست بفهلوي و همي کوید در روزکار هوبدي‌را بیاوردند که انرا بخواند در جمله این لفظ بود که کردش این زمان جم بفلان ماه و فلان روز و بپهلوي نبشتست این کلمتهاي و بسیاري دیکر و من از جهت نادانستن حرف ان ننوشتم که از صورت عرضي برنخیزد و انرا هزار ستون خوانده اند و دیکر بناها هم نبشتها بران از طهمورث نشان همي دهد اما چنان ساختن در قوت ادمي دشخوار باشد و دیوان در فرمان جمشید و طهمورث بوده اند

(MS. *Mujmel al Tuárikh.*) The passage above marked with italick letters in my translation, expresses, I believe, our author's meaning, "*that the edifice had been con-*

Queen HUMA'I, whom Persian history has already associated with *Istakhr*, (p. 344), "sent her troops into the kingdom of "*Rúm* (the Grecian or Roman provinces in Western Asia, "Anatolia, &c.) whence, having been victorious, they brought "a multitude of captives; these HUMA'I employed on works "of architecture, and she erected in *Párs* three edifices; one "by the side (or in the vicinity) of *Hezárán Sutún*, or "The "Thousand Columns," which is (at) *Istakhr*. A second nam- "ed *Jahenbun* on the road to *Dárábgerd;* and a third on the "road leading to *Khurasán;* this was at the village of *Kai-* "*múh* where she formed a town or city, which, according to "tradition, is that now called *Medínah Chah;* one of the pla- "ces ruined in former ages by AFRASIA'B; but all these works "of Queen HUMA'I, Alexander destroyed([175]). We then learn that those illustrious founders of the *Sasanian* dynasty, ARDASHI'R and his son SHA'PU'R, died at *Istakhr;* and in a particular section "On the burial-places of the Persian kings"

structed," &c. Yet there seems an obscurity in the Persian, arising perhaps from the omission of some word in the original MS. or, more probably, in my extract from it. I have supposed by the insertion of (adds he) after the italick passage, that it is HAMZAH ISFAHA'NI who continues the account. We know that a *Múbed* undertook to explain the inscriptions in 344, or A. D. 955. (De Sacy Mem. &c. p. 137).

([175]) سپاه فرستاد بملک روم پیروزي یافتند و بسیاري اسیران اوردند و همای ایشانرا بر عمارت کماشت و بپارس اندر سه بنا کرد یکي بجانب هزاران ستون که اصطخر ست دوم جهنبن نام بود بر راه داراب کرد سه دیکر بر راه خراسان شهرستانی کرد در روستاي کیموه و کویند انست که مدینه چه خوانند و ان از خرابهاي افراسیاب بود و این همه سکندر بیران کرد Compare this passage from the MS. *Mujmel al Tu-árikh*, with one above given (p. 345) from the MS. Chronicle of TABRI.

(اندر نواویس ملوک عجم) that HU'SHANG, MINU'CHEHR, Queen HUMA'I, DA'RA'B, his son DA'RA'I, (the last Darius) and many of their successors, were buried in *Pârs*; and we may suppose at or near the metropolis; for this city is formally described or unequivocally indicated as the established place of royal sepulture in various instances. Thus "ZA'B, (the "father of CAI KOBA'D) died at *Istakhr* and was entombed "at the mountain-foot." "CAI KOBA'D died at the capital "of *Pârs*, and was buried there; or, according to another ac- "count, at *Balkh*;" "CAI CA'U's (his son) died at *Istakhr*, and "was there deposited in the sepulchre of his father;" also "ARDASHI'R, son of BA'BEK was buried at *Istakhr*"(176).

In order of chronology I might here notice the SHERI'F EDRI'SI's *Nuzhat al Mushták*, (composed about A. H. 548, A. D. 1153), but as the Arabick text has been printed and translated, and my present object is chiefly an examination of works known hitherto only in the Eastern languages, it

(176) زاب باصطخر بمرد و ستودان بکوه پایه ساختند—کیقباد بدار الملک پارس بمرد و انجا ستودان کردند و بروایتي دیکر ببلخ—کیکاوس باصطخر از دنیا برفت و انجا بستودان پدرش نهادند—اردشیر بابک باصطخر مدفونست (MS. *Mujm. al Tuár.*) I must here remark that in another part of the *Mujmel al Tuárikh*, describing the dress of the *Sasanian* kings, BA'BEK is styled *Pádsháh* or sovereign of *Istakhr*, (بابک پادشاه اصطخر); a circumstance which does not accord with the accounts given by TABRI and other Persian writers. BA'BEK is mentioned by the Greek Historian Agathias, (Lib. II), who calls him *Pabekos* (Παβεκος); the original *Pahlavi* name being PA'PEKI (𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬌); a Persian *Papakés* (Παπακης) appears in Cinnam. Hist. Lib. II. and the Artaxares (Αρταξαρης) of Agathias is the *Pahlavi* ARTAHSHETR (𐬀𐬭𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬥𐬌𐬙𐬭) softened by the modern Persians into ARDASHI'R (اردشیر).

will suffice to observe that this author, often styled the "Nubian Geographer," celebrates *Istakhr* (Clim. iii. Sect. 7), as preeminent among Persian cities for its extent, its edifices and population(177).

The celebrated Poet NIZA'MI (نظامي of *Ganjah* گنجه) who died in the year 576, (or of our era 1180), assures us that he compiled his *Sekander Námeh* (سكندر نامه) or "History of Alexander," from Jewish, Christian and *Pahlavi* records; by which we may suppose him to mean Hebrew, Greek or Latin, and old Persian manuscripts(178). He informs us that the Macedonian hero, having espoused RU'SHANG or Roxana, the daughter of Darius, and proceeded (from *Isfahán*) "to *Istakhr*, there placed on his head the imperial crown, in "the place of CAIUMERS and of CAI KOBA'D"(179); where

(177) In p. 329 a passage has been quoted from EDRI'SI'S work, of which and of its Latin and Italian translations, a short notice may be found in Vol. I. p. 24 (note 22).

(178) Of NIZA'MI'S *Sekander Námeh* (already noticed in Vol. I. p. 61), the Persian text has passed under the Calcutta press; but it is here classed among Manuscripts; no translation, to my knowledge, having yet appeared in any European language. The printed edition I have never seen; but am willing to believe that the editors founded their text on most excellent authorities. Written copies are sufficiently numerous; among several in my own collection two are particularly valuable from their antiquity, (one transcribed in 1365, the other in 1437); two from their beautiful penmanship, splendid illuminations and pictures, executed in the best Persian style; and two from the marginal notes with which they abound.

(179) با صطرخ شد تاج بر سر نهاد بجاي كيومرث و كيقباد
In the oldest MS. I find the name as here written, *Isturakh*; although the chapter which contains this passage is entitled "The sitting of ISKANDER or Alexander on the royal

(about eighty couplets after) he gave publick audience, administered justice and transacted business "ascending the "throne every morning at an early hour, according to the "institution of JEMSHI'D"(180). We next find Alexander on the Caspian shore receiving a messenger who tells him "that he had come from the *Takht* or royal city of *Istakhr*" (زتخت اصطخر امدم نزد شاه) bringing important intelligence; and the monarch, undertaking an expedition to distant countries, leaves an accomplished statesman as governor in that city, with powers extending from the Chinese to the Mediterranean sea. Lastly, among the princes and generals who surrounded Alexander, like stars about the moon, is "KOBA'D "of *Istarakh* one of the imperial family" (قباد اصطرخي ز خويشان كي) I do not recollect that the ancient capital is mentioned in any other of NIZA'MI's Poems.

The rare and excellent work entitled *Jámeaa al Hekáyát* (جامع الحكايات) or "Collection of Anecdotes," may be next examined, as (نورالدين محمد عوفي) NU'RAD'DI'N MUHAMMED AOUFI, the author dates it in 625, (or A. D. 1227). The two copies which I have used are large folio MSS.; one containing 850 pages, the other above one thousand; and an entire

"throne at *Istakhr*." نشستن اسكندر در اصطخر بر تخت پادشاهي where the usual spelling is observed.

(180) بايين جمشيد هر روز شاه شدي بر سر كاه در صبحكاه

I here quote my oldest copy; five others have هر for در in the second line; and the two most modern, without any alteration of the sense, read تخت for كاه.

chapter (the fourth of Part I.) is devoted to the ancient history of Persia. In this we learn that king GUSHTA'SP caused the book called *Zend u Pázend* (زند و پازند) which ZERDUSHT had composed, to be transcribed in letters of gold on twelve thousand leaves of ox-skin, and taken (بقلعه اصطخر) to the citadel of *Istakhr*(181). Here, soon after, ISFENDIA'R son of GUSHTA'SP was imprisoned on suspicion of treason; but the Monarch when surrounded by enemies who had slain in battle about twenty of his sons, despatched a messenger to *Istakhr;* the prince was liberated from chains, and hastened to the relief of GUSHTA'SP. We next find ARDASHI'R, the son of BA'BEK, at *Istakhr*, where, having privately engaged several persons in his interest, he killed the son of ARDAVA'N (or Artabanus) then residing in that capital of *Párs* as governor or viceroy of the whole province;

(باصطخر رسید و دار الملک فارس ان بود پسر اردوان والي ان ولایت بود)

Early in the seventh century, YEZDEGERD, a descendant of NU'SHIRAVA'N the Just, was concealed at *Istakhr*, while young, from the fury of SHI'RU'IAH who had murdered his own father to obtain the crown, and his own brothers lest

(181) That the sacred Volume of ZERDUSHT'S law was deposited at *Istakhr* in a place called *Dernebisht*, I have already shown (See p. 344) from the Arabick text of TABRI's Chronicle. Other anecdotes respecting it are given by Dr. Hyde; (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. 24). To me *leaves* seem better in translation than whole skins of oxen (پوست گاو); and some MSS. for twelve thousand read twelve hundred, and others twelve volumes; or, as the *Tárikh Maajem*, only twelve skins. If we suppose ZERDUSHT to have used the Persepolitan character, and each combination of the arrow-headed element to be a letter, he could not have crowded many words into a line.

they should contend for it(182). We read also in a subsequent passage, (Part I, ch. 5), that YEZDEGERD was secretly nursed at *Istakhr*. According to another anecdote, (Part. I, ch. 7), it is related that in the time of KESRA or Chosroes (چنين گويند كه در روزگار كسري) during a whole year the heavens withheld their showers; and an excessive drought (and consequent famine) desolated the land of *Istakhr* (و در زمين اصطخر قحطي عظيم افتاد); and lastly (Part I, ch. 10) we find the people of this place complaining to SHA'PU'R DHU'LECTA'F against a person whom he had appointed to collect the taxes.

What SAADI has said in the *Gulistán* (ch. iv.) of one whose voice was so loud that it might even shake *Istakhr*, is sufficiently known to Europeans through various translations; and some copies of his works, though not all, contain, I think, an allusion to the ruins of Persepolis, in an extraordinary composition, to quote which more particularly would not confer any additional honour on SAADI, so justly celebrated, from most of his other writings, as a philosopher and moralist. The *Gulistán* is dated A. H. 656, (A. D. 1258).

MENHA'JE SERA'JE (منهاج سراج) author of the *Tebcát Násri* (طبقات ناصري), a work dated A. H. 658, (A. D. 1259-1260), and

(182) در اصطخر فارس يكي هست از فرزندان نوشيروان عادل That SHI'RUIAH murdered, in one day, his own father and seventeen brothers and nephews, we have before learned from the *Shíráz Námeh*, quoted in p. 34; which also mentions the concealment of young YEZDEGERD for some time in the castle of *Fahender* near *Shíráz*.

already quoted, (Vol. 1, p. 312), informs us that king Solomon frequently employed superhuman powers, by which he was transported in one morning the space of a month's journey, "from the Holy House or Jerusalem, to *Istakhr* of *Fárs*." (از بیت المقدس باصطخر فارس می اوردند یک ماهه راه). He then proceeded in a few hours another month's journey towards *Cábul*, and having passed the night on the *Kúh i Suleimán* (کوه سلیمان) or "Solomon's Mountain" near *Multán*, returned with equal expedition to *Istakhr*; however this may be, "the "most authentick traditions relate that *Istakhr*, for his ac- "commodation, had been relinquished by MINU'CHEHR, "then holding the sovereignty of Babylon"(183).

EBN KHALECA'N (ابن خلکان) whose biographical work is dated A. H. 672 (A. D. 1273), celebrates among various learned and pious *Muselmáns*, AHMED BEN YEZI'D BEN ISA BEN ALA'FAZL (احمد بن یزید بن عیسی بن الافضل) surnamed AL ISTAKHRI (الاصطخري) who was eminent for his knowledge of religion and law, and died A. H. 328, (A. D. 939). having long exercised the functions of chief judge at *Cum* (قم). The biographer remarks on this occasion that *Istakhr* had produ-

(183) و باصح روایت است که در ان عهد ملک بابل منوچهر داشت اصطخر فارس را بخدمت مهتر سلیمان باز گزاشت (*MS. Tebcát Násri.*)

The extraordinary association of Solomon with *Istakhr* and other places in Persia, and the confusion of the Jewish monarch with JEM or JEMSHI'D, have been, already noticed, and must be the subject of future remark. It does not appear from the Hebrew Scriptures that Solomon travelled into distant countries, however widely his fleets may have diffused the glory of his name.

ced, besides AHMED, a considerable number of men (he alludes only to Muhammedans) illustrious for their learning(184).

ZAKARIA CAZVI'NI (زكريا قزويني) who died about the year 674 (or of our era 1275) in his geographical work entitled *Seir al belád* (سير البلاد), having described *Istakhr* as a city of which the founder was only known to him who rules heaven and earth, notices a tradition that Solomon often passed the day at *Baalbek* and the night at *Istakhr*; "where," continues our author, "is a very considerable Fire-temple; the Magians "affirm that this edifice was a *Masjed* or temple of Solomon, "on whom be the peace of God! MASAOUDI says that it "is situate within the city; I went there and beheld won- "derful structures; marble columns of great height and ex- "traordinary appearance; and on the summits of those co- "lumns huge figures carved in stone; and this lofty edifice "stands near the foot of a mountain"(185). ZAKARIA then

(184) و از انجا فحول علما و اکابر فضلا بیرون امده اند Having never seen the original Arabick work of EBN KHALECA'N, I quote the Persian translation made at Constantinople in the year 926 (A. D, 1519) by desire of the Turkish Emperor; and even of this, my copy does not contain the whole, though filling two quarto Volumes. As it is possible that ZAKARIA's *Seir al belád*, of which the date does not appear, may have been finished in 673 or 674, it is here placed after EBN KHALECA'N's Biography, assigned by D'Herbelôt, (Art. *Vafiat*) to 672. Yet I suspect ZAKARIA's work to be more ancient.

(185) با انجاست خانه اتش بس بزرک مجوس میکویند که ان خانه مسجد سلیمان بوده عم مسعودي کفته که ان خانه بیرون مدینه است من در امدم بان پس دیدم

adds that the wind incessantly blows at this place, having been, as some report, imprisoned here by king Solomon; "and in the Chronicle of EBN JU'ZI it is related that when "SULTA'N ALP ARSLA'N took the castle of *Istakhr*, he found "there a cup made of *firúzeh* or turquoise, on which was "inscribed the name of JEMSHI'D"(186). The apple produced here, half sweet and half sour, (See p. 348, and EBN HAUKAL, p. 129) is next mentioned; and finally, "the author "surnamed after this city, ISTAKHRI, whose work describes "the inhabited regions, and the cities, and the distances or "stages between each, and the particular circumstances for "which different places are remarkable"(187).

بناهاي عجيبه و ستونهاي سنكين رفيع غريبيه بر بالاي ان ستونها صورتها سنكين عظيم الاشكال و ان بر عرض كوهي واقع است و بنايست بلند

The *Seir al belád* (سير البلاد) from which I extract this passage, is a translation of ZAKARIA's work originally written in Arabick and entitled *Athár al belád* (اثار البلاد); but this has never fallen into my hands. The Persian translator may, perhaps, have faithfully preserved the author's meaning; but in several places he appears to disregard not only elegance but correctness of language. From the vague manner of quotation so general among the Eastern writers, it is difficult to ascertain whether it was MASAOUDI or ZAKARIA himself who had visited the ruins. MASAOUDI, a distinguished author, flourished in the tenth century of Christ; but I have not yet enjoyed an opportu. ity of consulting his works.

(186) و ابن جوزي در تاريخ خود كفته كه سلطان الپ ارسلان چون فتح قلعه اصطخر كرد يافت بانجا قدح فيروزه كه بدان نام جمشيد مكتوب بود.

EBN JU'ZI, a voluminous writer died in the year 597 (A. D. 1200); ALP ARSLA'N in 465, (A. D. 1073) after a reign of ten years. I have reason to believe that the Persian *Tárikh Suleimán Sháhi* (تاريخ سليمان شاهي) is a translation of EBN JU'ZI's Arabick Chronicle.

(187) و بانجا منسوبست اصطخري صاحب نواحي معموره‌را ذكر كرده و شهرهارا و

The CA'ZI BEIZA'VI (قاضي بيضاوي) relates in his excellent *Nizám al Tuárikh* (نظام التواريخ) dated A. H. 674, A. D. 1275, that CAIUMERS, the first Persian king, "founded two cities;" (دو شهر بنياد نهاد يكي اصطخر و بيشتر اوقات انجا مقام ساختى و دوم شهر دماوند) "one *Istakhr*, wherein he chiefly resided; the other *Damá-*"*vand.*" *Istakhr* was the capital of his grandson HU'SHANG; and so considerably enlarged by JEMSHI'D "that it ex-"tended from the borders of *Khafreg* to the extremity of "*Rámgerd*, a space of twelve farsangs; and there he con-"structed an immense edifice of which the columns and "other vestiges remain to this day; and they are called "*Chehil-Mináreh* or the "Forty Spires"(188). Similar monuments the world cannot exhibit. When JEMSHI'D had completed this magnificent structure he assembled all the kings and chiefs of different countries, and at the hour of the vernal equinox seated himself on his throne in that palace; and the day of this ceremony was styled *naurúz* (نوروز)

مسافتي كه ميان شهرهاست و خواص هر جارا كه بخصوصتي مخصوص است بيان نموده

ISTAKHRI is quoted on many occasions by ZAKARIA in the *Seir al belád;* and in some copies (for the MSS. differ) of his *Ajáieb al Makhlúkát* (Chapter of Wells) I find a reference to ISTAKHRI's *Kitáb Akálim* (كتاب اقاليم) or "Book of Climates." By this, or by whatever title it may be distinguished, the geographical work of ISTAKHRI, which I sought in vain, may be recommended to future travellers as an object worthy of research. The ISTAKHRI here mentioned is probably a different person from him above celebrated by EBN KHALECA'N.

(188) چنانكه از حد خفرك بود تا اخر راهجرد بقدر دوازده فرسنك و بنايي عظيم هر ان بساخت و امروز طلل و ستونها ان مانده و انرا چهل مناره خوانند

or "the new day." We next read that "according to some "traditions, Solomon, on whom be the peace of God! attack- "ed CAI KHUSRAU who fled from *Istakhr* to *Balkh* where "he was slain"(189). After this, while GUSHTA'SP reigned, ZERDUSHT invited mankind to renounce the Sabian and adopt the Magian worship; he resided on *Nefisht* (نفشت) a mountain of *Istakhr*, "and in that mountain and its vicinity "are the sculptured figures and tombs of most of the ancient "Persian kings; and among the Persians prior to *Islám*, (or "the introduction of MUHAMMED's religion) there were three "kinds of sepulture; some bodies were interred in (natural) "caverns; some in *dakhmahs* formed in mountains; and others "(the bones being) separated, were placed in jars or urns "under ground. Then GUSHTA'SP having become a disciple "of ZERDUSHT, went to *Istakhr*, and established his resi- "dence on that mountain; and he employed himself in read- "ing the *Zend*, and commanded that Fire-temples should be "erected"(190). From the castle of *Istakhr*, (as mentioned

(189) و جمعي گويند كه سليمان عليه السلام اهنک وي (كيخسرو) كرد و او از اصطخر بكريخت و ببلخ رفت و انجايكه هلاک شد

The historian had before mentioned that CAI KHUSRAU resigned the throne to LOHRASP, and retired from publick life.

(190) و در اين كوه و حوالي ان صورتها و دخمها ملوک عجم بيشتر انجايكه است و گورها اهل عجم كه پيش از اسلام بوده اند سه گونه باشد بعضي در غارها و دخمها كه در كوهها ساخته اند و چندين در پاره نهاده اند و خنب در زير زمين تعبيه كردند پس كشتاسپ برو بگروید و باصطخر امد و بدان كوه نشست و بزند خواندن مشغول گشت و اتشكدها فرمود ساختن. The name of Mount *Nefisht* is nearly obliterated in

in another work, (See p. 364), ISFENDIA'R proceeded to fight the enemies of his father GUSHTA'SP; and in the history of Queen KHUMA'NI (خماني) or HUMA'I, we read that "as some "traditions relate, she built the *Chehil Mináreh* or "Hall of "Forty Columns;" and a great mansion that stood in the midst "of *Istakhr*, and which the *Muselmáns* converted into a *mas-* "*jed* or mosque; and this mosque is at present (the thirteenth "century of Christ) fallen to decay"(191). ARDASHI'R's revolt against ARDAVA'N (See p. 346) is then noticed and his seizure of *Istakhr;* where, we also learn, the nobles of *Fárs* caused young prince YEZDEGERD to be secretly educated (و بزرگان فارس اورا در اصطخر مي پروريدند) through fear of the cruel SHIRU'IAH (See p. 365). In the seventh century *Shíráz* was founded by a brother of *Hejáje* (حجاج) and soon became, what *Istakhr* had been, the capital of *Fárs;* and about the middle of the eleventh century, FAZLU'IAH (فضلويه) a rebellious *Emír*, imprisoned in the castle of *Istakhr*, by command of NIZA'M AL MULK, and endeavouring to escape, was killed by the governor. At the end of the twelfth century we find another unfortunate prince, the (اتابک قطب الدين) ATA'BEG KUTBAD'DI'N imprisoned in the same castle, which appears, also, to have been the place of his death.

my copy of the *Nizám al Tuárikh.* I have supplied it on the authority of other MSS. as will appear from a note on HAMDALLAH'S Geography, in the course of this section.

(191) و جمعي گويند كه چهل مناره و خانه عظيم كه در وسط اصطخر بوده است و مسلمانان انرا مسجد ساخته اند و اين مسجد اين ساعت خراب شده او ساخته است

FAZLALLAH CAZVI'NI (فضل الله قزويني) next follows; though according to some accounts he might have claimed an earlier notice(192). From his elaborate and flowery work the *Tárikh Maajem* (تاريخ معجم) we learn that CAIUMERTH (كيومرث) whom the Magians confound with Adam, others describe as a son of Noah, and all declare to have been the first king, erected the cities of *Balkh* (بلخ) and *Damávand* (دماوند); "and *Istakhr* "of *Fárs* is also one of the places founded by him, and at "*Istakhr* he chiefly resided"(193). HU'SHANG (هوشنك) second Monarch of the earliest Persian dynasty, "made some ad- "dition to the building at *Istakhr* which had been his (grand)- "father's royal seat." (بعمارت اصطخر كه دار الملك پدرش بود چيزي در افزود) JEMSHI'D, "on a day appointed by the astrologers, began "to construct a city at *Istakhr*, extending from the extremity "of the plain of *Khafreg* to the middle of *Rámgerd;* and an "edifice so substantially built and on so firm a foundation, "that among all the monuments in the seven climates of the

(192) In p. 302, (note 90), I mentioned different dates assigned to this author, but as he dedicates his work (both in prose and verse) to the ATA'BEG NASRET AD'DI'N, (اتابك نصرة الدين) we must not hesitate to place him between A. H. 695 and 730, (A. D. 1295 and 1329), for so long that Prince governed *Lurestán* (لرستان) as we learn from the *Jehán Ará* of AHMED AL GHAFA'RI, who mentions his countryman FAZLALLAH of *Cazvín*, and the dedication of his *Tarikh Maajem* to the *Atábeg* above named.

(193) و اصطخر فارس از موضوعات اوست اكر اوقات در اصطخر مقام ساختي Here I may notice some doubts whether the name of this most ancient sovereign be not rather GAIU'MERT (كيومرت spelt with a Persian G, and T with two points), than CAIU'MERTH as above written in the text. (See the Dict. *Burhán Kattea* in both names, also in the word كي *Cai*).

"world, travellers have not beheld its equal; and the re-
"mains of it are at this day visible in the cylindrical columns
"and the pillars of those houses or structures called *Chehil*
"*Mináreh*, or the "Forty Spires"(194). At the "place above
"described, *Istarakh*," (در اصطرخ مذکور) king JEMSHI'D instituted with mirth and rejoicings, the festival of *Naurúz* (نوروز) or the "new day;" when, at the vernal equinox, the Sun entered the zodiacal sign of the Ram. In his history of CAI KOBA'D our author quotes from the *Sháhnámeh*, a passage which I have already given, (See p. 351). We then read that CAI KHUSRAU (or Cyrus) having been educated in a distant country, was brought while young to *Párs;* and that various kings or chiefs assembled under the shadow of his banner "as soon as they heard of his arrival at *Istakhr*, the "place of the imperial throne."

چون اوازه وصول باصطخر که مقر سریر سلطنت بود متعاقب شد

It is next related that CAI KHUSRAU having resigned the crown to LOHRA'SP, secluded himself from the society of men, and was never after seen; but the strange tradition respecting his flight from *Istakhr* to avoid the attack of Solomon, and his being slain at *Balkh*, is here noticed, as in

(194) و بناي شهر اصطخر که طول ان از اول صحراي خفرک تا وسط عرصه رامجرد است بروزي که اختيار اخترشناسان بود بنهاد و بناي چنان محکم اساسي بابنياد که درهر بقعه از اقاليم سبعه روندگان و اهل سياحت را مثل ان عمارت مشاهده نيفتاده و امروز از رسوم و واطلال ان عمده دور و ستونهاي بيرونات که انرا چهل مناره خوانند ظاهر است

The latter part of this passage has been already quoted (p. 302), and the difference of opinions respecting the age of JEMSHI'D, in p. 340; See also p. 247 and p. 15.

p. 370 by a former writer(195). We afterwards learn that king "GUSHTA'SP on his return (from *Balkh*) to *Istakhr* "caused a *dakhmah* or vault to be made, in which he depo- "sited with much reverential ceremony the Book *Zend*, "(composed by ZERDUSHT); and appointed a body of "persons to guard it"(196). When the grandson of GUSHTA'SP, king BAHMAN (بهمن) bequeathed the crown to KHUMA'NI (خماني) or HUMA'I, who was both his daughter and wife, his son, named SA'SA'N (ساسان) retired from court, and in the vicinity of *Istakhr* led an obscure pastoral life; and "into one of the rivers of *Istakhr*," as TABRI has already informed us, (See p. 344), (برودي از رودهاي اصطخر) or as some relate a river of *Balkh*, KHUMA'NI threw the box or ark that contained her infant son DA'RA', whom a miller saved and educated. Among the edifices in different places attributed to this Queen, are "some of the structures at *Istakhr*" (بعضي از عمارات اصطخر). FAZLALLAH then mentions the taking of

(195) The reader will recollect how numerous and contradictory are the classical accounts both of Cyrus's life and death; the Philosopher Pythagoras (FISHA'GU'RAS HAKI'M فيشاغورس حكيم) is described as contemporary with CAI KHUSRAU, or Cyrus, by the Persian author now before us; and the Prophet Daniel (DA'NIA'L دانيال) as contempory with LOHRA'SP, the successor of CAI KHUSRAU.

(196) و كشتاسپ چون باصطخر مراجعت نمود بفرمود تا دخمه ساختند و كتاب زندرا به تعظيمي تمام انجا بنهاد و گروهي را به محافظت ان بر گماشت

According to the Dict. *Burhán Kattea*, the word *dakhmah* signifies not only a tomb or sepulchral vault, but a coffin or chest to contain the dead, (صندوق موتي), and *dakhmah* is more particularly applied to the sepulchres or "grave houses," (گور خانه) of the *Gabrs* or Fire-worshippers.

this city by ARDASHI'R, from king ARDAVA'N, and his making there a solemn vow to utterly exterminate the *Molúk al Tawáyef*, (ملوک الطوایف), or petty kings whose fate has been already mentioned by other writers, (See p. 346 &c). That twelve thousand families were sent from *Istakhr* by SHA'PU'R the second to repeople *Nisibín*, we know from TABRI's account, (quoted in p. 346); but they were partly taken, as our present author relates, from *Isfahán* as well as *Istakhr*.

FAKHRAD'DI'N (فخرالدین) surnamed BENA'KETI (بناکتي) who dates his *Tárikh* or Chronicle in the year 717 (A. D. 1317), ascribes the foundation of two cities, *Istakhr* and *Damávand*, to the first king, CAIUMERS; and he relates that JEMSHI'D also "constructed buildings at *Istakhr*, where he erected that "great palace of which the columns yet remain, and which "is called *Chehil Mináreh*, or the "Forty Spires"(197). Here on the entrance of Sol into Aries he instituted the festival of *Naurúz*. After ZARDEHUSHT (زردهشت) had been unintentionally killed, GUSHTA'SP "proceeded to *Istakhr* and built

(197) و شهر اصطخررا عمارت کرد و سراي بزرگ دروي بساخت که امروز ستونهاي ان مانده است و انرا چهل مناره خوانند See the MS. *Tarikh Bahr al Insáb* (تاریخ بحر الانساب) or "Ocean of Genealogies," commonly styled the *Tarikh Benáketi* (تاریخ بناکتي) its author's birth place being *Benáket*, named also *Shahrukhiah* (شاهرخیه) and *Shásh* (شاش), a city of Transoxiana. The ingenious Baron Ienisch appears deceived by the name *Benáketi* which must be spelt *Benâ Gíti* بنا کیتي to form "Fabrica mundi," "The construction or fabrick of the world," as he translates it in pp. 30 and 34, of his "Historia Priorum Regum Persarum post Islamismum," &c. (Viennæ, 1782). But he corrects the mistake in p. 142.

"Fire-temples" (باصطخر امد و اتش کدها ساخت). The conspiracy of ARDASHI'R with some of his father's friends at *Istakhr*, to overthrow ARDAVA'N, is next mentioned. SHA'PU'R the second, who had been placed on the throne at Ctesiphon when an infant of only forty days, "went at the age of eight "years to *Istakhr* the place of enthronement of his ances- "tors." (چون هشت سال شد باصطخر رفت بتختگاه اجداد خویش). Lastly about the year 680 (A. D. 1281) we find SELJU'KSHA'H (سلجوقشاه) imprisoned in the castle of *Istakhr*.

The Geographical work of ABU'LFEDA, composed in 721 (A. D. 1321) might here follow; but the principal passage describing *Istakhr* that the printed extracts afford is quoted in p. 341; the complete work I have never seen.

HAMDALLAH (حمدالله) surnamed MASTOWFI (مستوفي) also CAZVI'NI (قزويني) dates his *Tárikh Guzídah* (تاريخ گزيده) or "Select History," in A. H. 730, the year of Christ 1329. From this excellent Chronicle we learn that among the memorials of CAIUMERS, first Persian king, are some of the edifices at *Istakhr* in *Fárs* (از اثارش بعضي اصطخر فارس). To these his grandson HU'SHANG (هوشنگ) added others; and among JEMSHI'D's works one was "the completion of the buildings "at *Istakhr*, so that it extended in length twelve farsangs, "and ten in breadth; this space including various places "and grounds devoted to agricultural purposes"(198). Of

(198) از اثار او تمامي عمارت اصطخر است چنانکه دوازده فرسنگ طول و ده فرسنگ عرضه داشت و در اندرون ان مواضع و مزارع بود

HUMA'I's works at *Istakhr* the remains are called *Hezár Sutún* or the "Thousand Columns," an edifice ruined by Alexander, as we read in a passage before quoted, (p. 303).

Here the *Mejmaa al Insáb* (مجمع الانساب) or "Collection of Genealogies," must, according to its date, be interposed between HAMDALLAH's Chronicle, and his Geographical Treatise[199]. In the *Mejmaá al Insáb*, as elsewhere, we find ascribed to JEMSHI'D "the structure of *Hezár Sutún* or the "Thousand Columns," called at present *Chehl Mínáreh*, or the "Forty "Spires." (عمارت هزار ستون كه اين زمان چهل مناره مي خوانند). Next, in the history of CAI CA'U's, it is related that "the city of "*Istakhr* was founded by him; and CA'U's lived in the time of "Solomon, with whom he observed terms of peace, and he "was safe from the sword of Solomon; and he requested of "him that the *Dives* or Demons should at his command be "employed on works in the city of *Istakhr;* and all those "edifices which now remain in the territory of *Fárs*, are "vestiges of CA'U's; but some attribute them to JEMSHI'D,

[199] The *Mejmaa al Insáb* was begun in 733 (or of our era 1332) and appears to have been finished in 736. Of this work, which contains much interesting and curious information, historical, chronological, geographical and miscellaneous, I have never seen but one copy; that procured for me by a bookseller at *Shíráz*, who mistook it for the *Bahr al Insáb* of BENA'KETI, noticed in p. 375, and at that time an object of my research. To a similar mistake, or an intended deception, I am indebted for the *Súr al beldán* (صور البلدان) instead of the *Súr al akalím* (صور الاقاليم); for the *Táríkk i Tabristán* (تاريخ طبرستان), instead of the *Táríkh i Tabri* (تاريخ طبري), and some other rare and valuable Manuscripts, which on a future occasion shall be more fully described.

"as before mentioned"(200). We next learn, in the account of *Shíráz*, that *Fárs* contained buildings of the earliest ages, founded by CAIUMERS; augmented by TAHMURAS, "and "improved to the utmost perfection by JEMSHI'D; and the "original of these was the city of *Istakhr*, which began at "the village of *Khafreg* and ended at *Rámgerd;* and geo- "metricians have stated that *Istakhr* is in the thirtieth "degree of Latitude, and the eightieth of Longitude"(201).

Reverting to HAMDALLAH, whose historical work has been above examined, we now open his geographical description of *Irán* or Persia, forming about one third part of the celebrated *Nuzhat al Culúb* (نزهت القلوب) or "Heart's Delight" which, in the astronomical section, is dated A. H. 740, (A. D. 1339). Here my reader might be at once referred to the most important passage concerning *Istakhr*, as translated by M. Langlès(202); but I am induced, from the nu-

(200) و شهر اصطخر فارس کاوس بناکرد و کاوس در عهد سلیمان بوده و با او صلح داشت و از شمشیر سلیمان ایمن بود و ازو درخواست تا دیوانرا فرمود کار در شهر اصطخر کردند و این بناها که امروز در حدود فارس است همه از آثار کاوس است و بعضي بجمشید نسبت کنند چنانکه ذکر رفت

(201) جمشید ان عمارات بحد کمالات رسانید و اصل این شهر اصطخر بوده است و اول ان دیه خفرک است و اخر ان رامجرد و اهل هندسه گفته اند که اصطخررا عرض سي درجد است و طول ان هشتاد درجه است

(202) In his interesting "Memoire Historique sur Persepolis" published in the "Ma- "gazin Encyclopedique," An III; also at the end of his "Collection Portative de "Voyages," Tome III."

merous variations found in different copies, to give it after the text of a very valuable Manuscript; more especially as the copy used by that eminent French Orientalist does not appear to agree exactly with mine in two or three names of places, nor even in some sentences; and the passage has not, I believe, been ever printed until now, in the original language(203). "*Istakhr*," says the Persian geographer, "is of "the third climate; situate in Longitude from the Fortunate "Islands 88-30, and Latitude from the Equinoctial line, 30. "According to one tradition CAIUMERS founded it; or, ac- "cording to another, his son whose name was ISTAKHR. "Some buildings were also erected there by HU'SHANG; and "JEMSHI'D completed the work, so that in length it extend- "ed from the borders of *Khafreg* to the extremity of *Rúm-* "*gerd*, fourteen farsangs; and it was ten farsangs broad; "and in this space were comprehended buildings, and cul- "tivated fields, and villages; also three very strong castles "on the summits of three mountains; one the castle of *Is-*

(203) From three of the copies in my own collection and others which I have examined, it would be impossible to form a perfect text, so numerous are the errours and deficiencies; some wanting several lines in different parts, and others even entire sections; most of them misrepresenting the characters that express the longitudes and latitudes, and each mis-spelling many names of places; villages, cities, rivers, lakes, mountains, &c. But from these blemishes my fourth copy of the *Nuzhat al culúb* is almost wholly exempt; a folio volume of above three hundred pages, finely written by a *Káteb* or scribe of *Shíráz;* whose mistakes, by no means frequent, a learned personage named ABU'L HASSAN MA'ZANDERA'NI (ابو الحسن مازندراني) has with few exceptions corrected; copiously inserting in the margins of most pages, his own excellent notes and illustrations. This MS. of course, I have invariably used.

"*takhr*; the second *Shekesteh*; the third *Shangwán*(204); and "these were called *Seh Gumbedán*, or the "Three Domes." "The author of the *Fárs Námeh*, or History of *Fárs*, says "that JEMSHI'D built a palace in *Istakhr* at the foot of a "mountain; and the construction of this palace may be thus "described. At the mountain-foot was formed, of hard black "stone, a square terrace, one side of which was united to "the mountain, the other three sides projecting on the plain; "the height of it was thirty *gaz*(205). On two sides were as- "cents by means of staircases; and on other parts of the plat- "form, round or cylindrical columns of white stone, chiseled "with so much art that even on soft wood such delicate "execution could not have been employed. At the gateway "stand two square pillars; each of which must exceed in "weight an hundred thousand *mans*(206); and there is not, "in the vicinity, any stone of the same appearance or kind;

(204) More correctly, perhaps, *Sangwán*; See p. 314, note 113; where it appears that this castle was also called *Sepidán*, and with the other two constituted the fortress of *Seh Gumbedán*, or "The Three Domes."

(205) The Persian measure called *gaz* (گز), as I remarked on a former occasion, is equal to forty English inches.

(206) The *man* (من) is a weight variously estimated in different places; but when mentioned without any local distinction, the *man* of *Tabríz* is commonly understood, being now of most general use throughout Persia; this is equal to seven pounds and one quarter, English. The Dict. *Burhán Katea* informs us that the *Man Tabrízi* comprises forty *ástárs* (استار) each *ástár*, fifteen *miscals* (مثقال); so that the *man* weighs six hundred *miscál*; each *miscál* six *dáneks* (دانک); each *dánek* eight *habbehs* (حبه) and each *habbeh* one grain of barley.

"and the scrapings of those pillars stop the effusion of blood "from wounds; and there is sculptured the figure of the "*Borác* of our prophet, on whom and on his race be the "blessing of God! Its face is represented as human; it "has a curled beard; and a crown on the head; with the "fore and hind feet, and the tail of a bull or ox(207). There "also is executed the resemblance of JEMSHI'D, under a "form exceedingly handsome; and in that mountain were "hot-baths hollowed in the rock, the water of which issues "warm from a spring, so that fire was not there necessary; "and high upon the mountain (or on its summit) were "spacious *dakhmahs* (or sepulchral vaults) which the common "people called *Zindán e bád*, or "Prisons of the wind." On "the first introduction of *Islám* or Muhammed's religion, as "the inhabitants of *Istakhr* several times violated treaties and "conceived treacherous designs, the *Muselmáns* committed in "that city great slaughter and devastation; and in the time of

(207) In a Persian picture now before me, the *Borác* which miraculously carried Muhammed from Mecca to Jerusalem, is represented passing swiftly through the sky, though not winged; the hoofs are divided, and its tail resembles a bull's; it has the face and neck of a woman, and a crown covers the head; the body is painted of a reddish colour, though this does not correspond to an Arabian tradition quoted by Maracci (Alcor. Refut. in Sur. xvii) which describes the *Borác* as white; "Veni equitans su-"per *Alborac*, quod erat jumentum album;" but it gives authority for the divided hoofs; "et findebat ungulas in extremitate ipsarum" The prophet rides, much at his ease, on a Persian saddle; his head appears in a blaze of golden glory, such as the old pictures of our saints exhibit; many angels attend him, and one of them kisses the *Borác's* hoof. In D'Ohsson's "Tableau Géneral de l'Empire Othoman" (Tome I. Pl. 2. Paris 1788, Oct.) the *Borác* is represented with horse's hoofs and the tail of a peacock.

"the *Dílemí* Prince SAMSA'M AD'DOULAH(208), the EMI'R
"CATELMISH led an army there and ruined it to such a
"degree that it exists only under the reduced form of a
"village. And among the ruins of the *Jemshídian* edifice is
"found Indian Tutty, or *Túțiá*, beneficial in diseases of the
"eye; but it is not known by any person, how that Tutty
"happened to be there(209); and at present the people call
"the remaining columns of that edifice by the name of
"*Chehil Mináreh* or the "Forty Spires." In the work entitled
"*Mejmaa erbáb al Memálek* it is related that those Columns
"belonged to the mansion erected by HUMA'I the daughter
"of BAHMAN; but according to the *Súr al akálím* they were
"columns of the *Masjed* or Temple of Solomon the prophet,
"on whom be the peace of God! It may be that JEMSHI'D'S
"palace had been used as a Temple by Solomon, and that
"by HUMA'I it was again made a palace; so the three
"accounts are probable. As the site of *Istakhr* was exten-
"sive both in length and breadth, it comprehended some of

(208) Who was killed after a reign of nearly ten years, A. H. 387, (A. D. 997).

(209) Respecting this kind of "Lapis Calaminaris" or Zinc, see the curious information collected by M. Langlés in a note to his "Memoire Historique" above quoted. I may add that HAMDALLAH, in another part of his *Nuzhat al Culúb* (the chapter of Minerals) describes the *Túțía* medicinally, as being cold and dry in the third degree; he also says that some regard it as the product of silver or lead mines; some affirm that it is found on the sea shore, and others that it is a peculiar mineral in itself. He observes, near the end of his work, that many parts of Persia furnish *Túțía*, especially one mine near a village of *Kirmán*, where masses are found in a moist state, one *gaz* or above an English yard long, which are afterwards dried in furnaces, or brick-kilns.

"those places that constitute what is now called *Marvdasht*. "Of its products the best are corn and grapes; and among "its fruits are sweet and excellent apples([210]). This passage is extracted from a part of HAMDALLAH'S work, (the twelfth chapter), treating of *Párs*, a province, as he previously informed us, comprising five *kúreh* (کوره) or districts, of which *Istakhr* was the principal and most ancient, although that geographer first describes the *Kúreh* of *Ardashír*; as, when he wrote (in the fourteenth century), *Shíráz* was the capital; and he adds that one gate of this city was called the *Istakhr* gate. We next read that "since there had "not been in the kingdom of *Párs* any edifice constructed "before the foundation of *Istakhr*, this city gave its name to "the whole *kúreh*, which in length extended from *Yezd* to "*Hezár dirakht* (or the "Thousand Trees"), and in breadth "from *Cumishah* to *Sard*([211])." Then follows the account of *Istakhr* as given in p. 379 and the Appendix; and afterwards

([210]) In the Appendix is given the Persian text of this passage, which, if placed here, would from its length interfere with the Typographical arrangement of notes.

([211]) چون در ملک فارس پیش از اصطخر هیچ عمارتي نبوده است این کوره را بدان شهر باز خوانند ازیزد تا هزار درخت در طول و از قمشه تا سرد در عرض

This passage is not found in my second copy of the *Nuzhat al Culúb;* but the third and fourth have *Cuhestán* (قهستان) for *Cumishah;* one instead of *Sard* has only *Sar,* (سر), and the other seemingly *Nard* (نرد), for the name is blotted. HA'FIZ ABRU' who generally copies HAMDALLAH, has *Nirìz* (نیریز; See his Chronicle hereafter quoted); but the Turkish Geographer, HAJI KHALFAH, agrees with the Persian and reads *Sard* or *Serd*, as appears by Norberg's extract; (Specim. Geogr. Orient. Lundæ 1784). The word *emáret* (عمارت) in the first line of this passage may imply, not only architectural construction, but population, cultivation, &c.

the passage describing its castle, as quoted and translated in p. 314; subsequently, in the section of Roads, our author stating the distances and stages between *Yezdekhast* and *Shíráz*, mentions the castles of *Istakhr* and *Shekesteh* "on the left of "the road," (قلع اصطخر وشکسته بردست چپ بر سر راه) from *Máiín* (مایین) to *Pul i nau* (پل نو) or the "New Bridge;" and in the chapter of Mountains we read that "the *Kúh e Nefisht* (or "*Naaesht*) is in the vicinity of *Istakhr*, according to the work "entitled *Fárs Námeh* or History of *Fárs*; and the figures of "all things, and of every animal, are sculptured on that "mountain; which exhibits such wonderful monuments that "the most ingenious artists of this age cannot execute any "work equal to them. And in the time of the *Kesris* (or "latter kings of the *Sasanian* dynasty) the book *Zend* was "kept on that mountain"([212]). Among the Persian lakes we then find enumerated one called *Tenáskemúiah* (بحیره تناسقمویه) seven farsangs long and one farsang broad, abounding with fish, in the territory of *Istakhr*. I have not discovered any

([212]) کوه نعشت در فارس نامه امده که بحدود اصطخر ست و صور همه چیز و همه حیوانات بنقاري بران نکاریده اند و اثار عجیب در ان نموده چنانکه صانعان این زمان از ساختن مثل ان عاجزند و در عهد اکاسره کتاب زندرا بران کوه داشتندي

The name, though it seem in the MS. to be as here printed, *Naaesht* (نعشت), was intended, I suspect, to have been *Nefisht* (نفشت), for the diacritical points are indistinctly placed; my second and third copies want the passage altogether; the fourth has *Nebisht* (نبشت) and perhaps with some propriety; since TABRI has informed us (p 344) that the sacred *Zend* was deposited at *Istakhr* in a place called *Der-nebisht*. The mountain, by CA'ZI BEIZA'VI, is styled *Nefisht* (See p 370) which Hyde accents differently, *Naphast*, (Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. 24, p. 313, Oxon. 1700).

other notice of this ancient capital throughout the *Nuzhat al culub*(213).

EBN AL VARDI (ابن الوردي) who died in the year 760, (A. D. 1358), mentions *Istakhr* but once; if my two copies of his Arabick work, the *Kharídet al ajáieb* (خريدة العجايب), be, as they seem, sufficiently accurate and perfect Manuscripts. "It is related," says he "that in the territory of *Istakhr* "grows an apple, of which half is sweet and half sour"(214). This extraordinary fruit we have already seen noticed by different writers.

HA'FIZ A'BRU' (حافظ ابرو) in whose chronicle I find two dates, 817 and 820, (the years of Christ 1414, 1417), describes the *kúreh* or district of *Istakhr* as the most ancient and important division of *Párs*; extending fifty five farsangs

(213) From this work the Turkish writer HAJI KHALFAH MUSTAFA, also denominated KA'TEB CHELEBI, has borrowed almost wholly his account of *Istakhr*, which the reader may see translated in the "Memoire Historique" above quoted of M. Langlès, who remarks that the Arabian geoprapher BA'CU'I has not given any further details; and that MUHAMMED BEN AYAS, another Arabian, has derived his information from HAMDALLAH. The Turkish text of KA'TEB CHELEBI'S work, entitled the *Jehán Numá* (جهان نما) or "Index of the World," was printed at Constantinople in 1736; and a translation made by Armain, (I know not whether French or Latin) is preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi, as M. Langlès informs us. The Turkish account of *Istakhr* is translated into Latin by Norberg, in his "Specimen Geographiæ Orientalis"

(214) و ذكر ان بارض اصطخر تفاح نصفها حلو و نصفها حامض So according to one copy; but in the other, without any alteration of sense, some words are thus transposed: تفاح نصف التفاحة حامض و نصفها حلو

in length and as many in breadth; from *Yezd* to *Hezárdirakht*, and from *Cuhestán* (قهستان) to *Níríz* (نیریز). The foundation of *Istakhr*, he adds, was laid by CAIUMERS; and succeeding kings made it their capital, each contributing to the number of its buildings, until the reign of JEMSHI'D who constructed there a lofty edifice; and the country became so populous and the edifices so numerous that the city extended lengthways from the borders of *Khafreg* to the extremity of *Rámgerd*, which was a distance of fourteen farsangs; and in breadth it was equal to ten farsangs; and JEMSHI'D erected there three castles; one *Istakhr*, another *Shekesteh*, and the third *Ashknuwán* (اشکنوان); "and those three castles were in that city. "It is said that the castle of *Istakhr* was the treasury; *Shekes-* "*teh* the store house for carpets, cushions, beds, and various "articles of furniture; and *Ashknuwán* for armour. Those "three castles were styled the *Seh Gumbedán* or "Three "Domes;" and a distich of FIRDAUSI in his *Sháhnámeh* thus "alludes to them: "The three *Diz e Gumbedán* or castles of "*Istakhr*, the chosen dwelling-place of the sovereigns of the "land of *Irán*." And for his own particular accommodation "or residence, JEMSHI'D constructed a palace at the foot of a "mountain ([215])." And this edifice our author HA'FIZ A'BRU'

([215]) و این هر سه قلعه درین شهر بوده است گویند قلعه اصطخر خزانه و شکسته فراشخانه و اسباب ان و اشکنوان زرادخانه ان‌را سه کنبدان گفتندي و فردوسي در شاهنامه اشارت بدین سه کنبدان کرده است و گفته بیت "سه دزکنبدان" اصطخر کزین "وطنگاه شاهان ایران زمین" و بجهت خاصه خود سراي ساخت در

describes so nearly in the words of HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI above quoted, that I shall only notice his additions. The staircase of black marble is, he very truly observes, such as persons on horseback easily ascend (که سوار باساني بالا رود). "And "the figure of JEMSHI'D is there sculptured, as a man of ro- "bust form, long beard, handsome countenance, and curled "hair; and in some places he is represented with his face "opposite to the sun, holding in one hand a staff, and in "the other a censer, whilst he burns incense and adores the "sun. He also appears in other places grasping with his "left hand the throat of a lion, or the horn of a *gawzen*(216), "or of a rhinoceros; and with the right hand a dagger or "short sword which is thrust into the belly of the lion or "rhinoceros"(217). HA'FIZ A'BRU' next mentions (after HAMDALLAH) the baths with water always naturally warm, and the great *dakhmahs* or vaults, commonly called the "Prisons

پایان کوهي The first line here quoted as from FIRDAUSI's *Sháhnámeh* I have not discovered in any copy of that work.

(216) The *Gawzen* (کوزن) is a kind of wild ox or mountain-bull with horns resembling the dry or withered branches of a tree; and the water that issues from the corners of his eyes by some is esteemed an antidote for poison, according to the Dict. *Burhan Kátea*.

(217) و صورت جمشیدرا کنده‌اند مردي قوي هیکل کشیده ریش نیکو روي جعد موي و در بعضي جایها صورت او چنان است که روي در افتاب دارد بیکدست عصایی کرفته است و بیکست بجمره دارد و بخور میسوزد و افتاب را میپرستد و بر بعضي جایها صورت او کرده است که بدست چپ کردن شیري یا سرون کوزني یا کرکدني بدست کرفته است و بدست راست خنجري کشیده در شکم ان شیر یا کرکدن زده

of the Wind;" and respecting the columns he adds "that "each differs from the others in form and sculpture; the "height of those columns, as far as is now visible, exceeds "thirty *gaz;* all of them being round or cylindrical and each "above two *gaz* in diameter. Yet notwithstanding the "vastness of these proportions, each column is formed of "only three or four stones, placed one over the other. It "is related that in ancient times persons ascended to the "summits of those columns (now) fallen, and took earth or "clay therefrom, which they washed, and found amongst it "Indian Tutty, useful as a medicine for the eyes; but no "person knows how it became mingled with that clay, for "there is not any similar substance found in the neighbour-"ing mountains"([218]). Our author then informs us that besides

([218]) و ان ستونها هر ستوني به شكلي ديگر و نقشي ديگر ارتفاع ان ستونها انچه حالا ظاهرست سي گز زياده باشد همه بدورست و قطر ان نيز دو گز زياده باشد و هر ستوني بدين عظمت سه سنگ يا چهار سنگ است كه بر زبر يكديگر نهاده اند چنين گويند كه در قديم الايام بر بالاي اين ستونها افتاده مردم روند و ان خاك را برداارند و بشويند و در ميان او توتياي هندي يابند كه داروي چشم را شايد و كس نداند كه ان چگونه در ان كل امينخته شده است و از ان جنس در ان كوههاي نزديك نيست

In one passage, at least, of this extract, I suspect an errour, or some confusion. The finding of Tutty seems properly expressed in the present tense for so HAMDALLAH describes it, (See p. 382), but it was in former ages, as we read here, that persons ascended to the summits of the columns. Without offering much violence to the text, we might easily produce a more probable sense; the sentence too, concerning tutty may have originally been distinct from that which mentions the columns. Instances of inaccuracy abound throughout the MS.; but hoping on collation with a second copy to ascertain hereafter the true text, I shall at present only suggest that we should perhaps read, instead of *áftádeh* (افتاده) "fallen," *raftand* (رفتند) or *rafteh and* (رفته اند) which in construction with the preceding words بر بالاي اين ستونها would signify "went upon," or ascended the summit of those columns, &c.

those columns which are called *Chehil Minár* or the "Forty "Spires" there are on the skirts of that mountain, "several "stone edifices with various sculptured figures;"

(عمارت سنگین بسیارست و صور مختلف بران نقش کرده)

among those structures are "two square pillars of stone, "white as alabaster, at the front entrance or vestibule," (دو ستون که در پیشگاه بوده مربع است از سنگ سفید مانند رخام) In all *Fárs*, says he, there is not any stone of the same kind, nor does any person know whence it was brought; and the filings or scrapings of this stone are applied to wounds and found efficacious in healing them. He then mentions the citadel of *Istakhr*, "than which in the whole world there is "not any castle more ancient;" (در جهان هیچ قلعه ازین قدیمتر نیست) being a work of the *Píshdádian* or first dynasty of Persian kings; near it are two other castles, *Shekesteh* and *Saknuwán* (سکنوان) now in ruins; the three were called *Seh Gumbedán*, "or the "Three Domes" (as above mentioned). The great reservoir constructed by AZZAD AD'DOULEH is next described conformably with HAMDALLAH's account quoted in p. 314, and I may here observe that both writers notice the existence of other cisterns or reservoirs in the castle of *Istakhr*, the moderate temperature of its air, and the difficulty of defending it. HA'FIZ ABRU' adds, that it comprises some handsome palaces, pleasant villas, and "spacious *meidáns*" (میدان فراخ) or open level pieces of ground(219).

(219) HA'FIZ ABRU' may have mentioned *Istakhr* in other passages; but the only copy of his Chronicle that I have seen is imperfect.

The *Asehh al Tuárikh* (اصح التواريخ) or "Most authentick of Records," a very rare work dated A. H. 831, (A. D. 1427), assigns, like many other Eastern Chronicles, the foundation of *Istakhr* to CAIUMERS the first king. HU'SHANG augmented, and JEMSHI'D finished this capital which occupied a space of twelve farsangs in length, and ten in width; "and "when GUHSTA'SP had adopted the religion of ZERDUSHT "at *Istakhr*, he fixed his residence on one of the mountains "in the vicinity of that city, and employed himself in read- "ing the *Zend* and commanded that Fire-temples should be "erected and that the people should worship Fire"(220). Having again mentioned GUSHTASP's residence near *Istakhr*, this chronicle adds that "there are sculptured figures on "those mountains, and at the skirt of them the tombs and "dwelling places of most of the Persian kings; and the se- "pulchres of those kings before Muhammedism were of three "kinds; either in caverns, or in mountains, or the body "was placed under ground and many stones accumulated "over it until a heap (or *tumulus*) was formed"(221). We

(220) چون کشتاسپ بوي بگروید باصطخر و بدان کوهي که در حوالي انست بنشست و بزند خواندن مشغول شد و امر کرد تا آتشکدها ساختند و خلایق را پرستیدن آتش فرمود

(221) و بر کوهها صورتها و در دامن ان دخمها و مسکن ملوک عجم بیشتر در انجا بوده است و قبر ملوک عجم که پیش از اسلام بوده‌اند بر سه گونه است یا در غارها یا در کوهها یا در زیر زمین نهادندي و سنگ بسیار بران ریختي چنانکه تلي کشتي

next learn that Queen HUMA'I, although she had resigned the throne to her son DA'RA', yet continued to reside at the capital of *Fárs*, from which he retired to *Balkh;* dreading lest his mother should on some occasion contrive his destruction; but the account of her death induced him to return; "and it is said that HUMA'I rebuilt the city of *Istakhr* "after its ruin; and that she also erected the *Chehil Mináreh* "or "Forty Spires," and the great mansion which was in "the midst of *Istakhr* and which the *Muselmáns* converted "into a *masjed* or mosque"([222]). After this we find noticed the immense reservoir made by AZZAD AD'DOULEH in the castle of *Istakhr*, and above more particularly described (See pp. 183, 314, &c.)

The Poet ASHREF (اشرف) dates his history of SEKANDER or Alexander, entitled *Zaffer Námeh* (ظفر نامه), the "Book of Victories," A. H. 848, (A. D. 1444). In this we find that Alexander expressed his intention of proceeding from *Hindústán* to *Kirmán*, and thence to *Istakhr* and *Iúnán* or Greece.

مرا میل دل سوي کرمان شدنست وزان راي اصطخر و یونان شدنست

In consequence of which he goes by way of *Závul* (زاول) and *Seiestán* (سیستان) and "the renown-seeking hero turned his face "towards *Párs*, and advanced from *Kirmán* to *Istakhr*,"

وز انجا سوي پارس اورد روي زکرمان باصطخر شد نامجوي

([222]) و گویند شهر اصطخررا همای بعد از خرابي عمارت کرد و چهل مناره و خانه بزرگ که در وسط اصطخر بود و مسلمانان انرا مسجد ساخته بودند بنا کرده وي است

establishing places for the accommodation of travellers, repairing bridges, and performing various useful works at every stage; then, says the poet, "SEKANDER having resided a while at *Istakhr*, prepared for another expedition; "and with his mighty army undertook a march from *Istakhr* "to *Ahwáz* or Susiana."

سکندر باصطخر چندي نشست — وز انجا دکر راهرا کار بست
ز اصطخر اهنک ره سازکرد — بجیش کران رو باهواز کرد

MI'RKHOND, as we generally style the historian who names himself MUHAMMED BEN KHA'VEND SH'AH BEN MAHMU'D (محمد بن خاوند شاه بن محمود) composed his celebrated *Rauzet ál Safá* (روضة الصفا) or "Garden of Purity," (a work divided into seven large Volumes, with an Appendix) in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Having noticed Solomon's wonderful expedition in travelling from Syria to *Istakhr* and thence to *Cábul* in one day, (See p. 366), and his going from *Istakhr* to *Yemen* (Arabia Felix), our author, adopting some traditions above quoted (pp. 369, 371), describes CAIUMERS as the founder of *Istakhr*, which became his favourite residence; he also founded *Balkh* (بلخ), but left there some of his children "whilst he himself returned to "*Istakhr* (و خود بجانب اصطخر معاودت نمود). The great edifice constructed by JEMSHI'D is next mentioned in a passage which I shall not here transcribe, as MI'RKHOND has borrowed the account, and even some entire sentences, from writers above quoted (particularly the CA'ZI BEIZA'VI, p. 369, and FAZLALLAH, p. 371); the passage too, has been so well trans-

lated by Francklin, that a reference to his work will be sufficient(223). FIRDAUSI is then quoted (as in p. 351) showing that *Istakhr* was the royal residence of CAI KOBA'D; and we read of CAI KHUSRAU's flight from that capital when Solomon endeavoured to seize him, as related in p. 370. The next Persian Monarch, LOHRA'SP, is likewise said "to have "abandoned *Istákhr* through fear of Solomon, and resided "at *Balkh*" (از بیم سلیمان اصطخررا گذاشته در ان دیار (بلخ) توطن نمود). From writers quoted in the preceding pages (364, 370, 374) we have learned how GUSHTASP honoured the book *Zend* which contained the religious laws of ZERDUSHT. That king, says MI'RKHOND, diffused the Magian rites of worship throughout his empire, and erected Fire-temples in every quarter, "and on his arrival at *Istakhr*" (وچون گشتاسپ باصطخر امد) he caused a *dakhmah* or vault to be made, in which was deposited with much solemnity the book *Zend*, comprising, on twelve thousand ox-skins so tanned as to resemble thin leaves of paper, and written in letters of gold and silver, the erroneous doctrines and vain imaginations of ZERDUSHT; "leaves unworthy of ornament," exclaims our *Muselmán* historian, and "rather such as should have been committed "to the flames" (اوراق که سزاوار احراق بود). GUSHTASP then ap-

(223) "Observations made on a Tour from Bengal to Persia," &c. p. 90, (Calcutta, 1788, 4to). Reprinted in London, 1790, 8vo. p. 223; likewise published in French and German. To Colonel Francklin we are indebted for other amusing and instructive works; the Romance of Camarupa and Camalata; the History of Shah Aulum; the Inquiry concerning ancient Pálibothra, &c.

pointed many persons of illustrious rank to guard the precious volume, which was witheld from vulgar eyes. We next read, (as in pp. 344, 374) that Queen HUMA'I placed the box or ark containing her infant son with many jewels "on a river of the rivers of *Istakhr*" (برودي از رودهاي اصطخر), or as some relate, of *Balkh;* and having quoted FIRDAUSI (who does not, however, indicate any particular river) concerning many circumstances of this transaction, our author adds a passage already translated in page 303. That ARDASHI'R took possession of *Istakhr*, we also learn; and this city is again mentioned, but slightly, in the history of that Monarch, who founded the *Sasanian* dynasty, and of YEZDEGERD with whom it became extinct. Hitherto we have only examined the first volume of MI'RKHOND's great work. In the second, we find YEZDEGERD at *Istakhr* when the *Muselmán* Arabs first invaded his dominions; and the people of that capital having, in the thirtieth year of the *Hejrah* (A. D. 650) endeavoured to recover their liberty, YEZDEGERD assisted them with his troops; but after a defeat he fled into *Khurásán*, and was murdered near *Marv*. The assassination of YEZDEGERD, son of SHAHRIA'R, happened, as some say, in the year 31 (A. D. 651); and "MA'HU'IAH, (the governor "of *Marv)* conveyed the royal body to *Istakhr* of *Fárs*, and "buried it in the sepulchre of the Persian kings"(224). MI'R-

(224) و ماهويه كالبد اورا باصطخر برده در كورخانه ملوك عجم مدفون ساخت
See the circumstances of his death in the "Oriental Collections," Vol. I. p. 160.

KHOND's third volume styles *Istakhr* the *dár al imáret* (دار الامارت) or "the seat of government," A. H. 129, (A. D. 746); and his fourth volume incidentally mentions it (about A. H. 271, A. D. 884), in the history of that dynasty called *Táheriah*(225); it also informs us that "when the intelligence of EMA'D "AD'DOULEH's death (in prison A. H. 388, A. D. 998) "reached RUKN AD'DOULEH, this sovereign set out for "*Fárs*, and first proceeded to *Istakhr* that he might perform "a *ziáret*, or solemn pilgrimage, in honour of the deceased "prince his brother, to whose grave he walked bare-footed, "uttering lamentations, in which the soldiers attending join-"ed; and there he remained three days"(226). The fourth volume then notices the great *berkah* (برکه) or reservoir constructed by AZZÀD AD'DOULEH in the castle of *Istarakh* (در قلعه اصطرخ) and so celebrated by preceding writers. We next find ABU' MA'NSU'R surnamed FU'LA'D SUTU'N (فولاد ستون) or "Steel Pillar," residing in the castle of *Istakhr;* and there, soon after, FAZLUI'AH was imprisoned and died, (See p. 371). I omit two passages of little import in which *Istakhr* is named,

(225) This portion of MI'RKHOND's fourth volume, (occupying about twenty pages of a folio MS.) has been printed in the original Persian, translated into Latin, and illustrated with a multiplicity of excellent notes, by Ienisch, under the title of "Historia Priorum Regum Persarum post firmatum in regno Islamismum." Viennæ, 1782. 4to.

(226) چون خبر وفات عماد الدوله مسمع رکن الدوله افتاد متوجه فارس گشت و نخست باصطخر رفت تا زیارت برادر بجا اورد و پاي برهنه کرده نوحه کنان برسر قبر برادر رفت و مجموع لشکریان باوي موافقت نمودند و در ان موضع سه روز اقامت کرد MI'RKHOND, MS. *Rauzet al Safá*, Vol. IV.

to notice that about A. H. 622, (A. D. 1225) the ATA'BEG SAAD (اتابک سعد) gave his daughter MALKAH KHA'TU'N (ملکه خاتون) in marriage to (سلطان جلال الدین) SULTA'N JELA'L AD'-DI'N "and agreed that the castles of *Istakhr* and *Asknuwán* "should be delivered up to officers appointed by the *Sultán;* "and according to some Chronicles, four thousand years have "elapsed since the sound of the great brazen drum marking "the several watches, first ascended from the roofs of those "two castles to the ears of the inhabitants of the seven hea-"vens; and to those castles the following distich of FIRDAUSI "alludes, "At the *Seh Gumbedán* or Three Domes of *Istakhr*, "was the chosen residence of the kings of *Irán*"(227). We next learn that the same ATA'BEG SAAD imprisoned his rebellious son ABU' BECR (ابوبکر) in the castle of *Istakhr;* which, soon after, contained another princely captive SELJU'K SHA'H (سلجوقشاه). If any mention of this place occur in MI'RKHOND's fifth volume, it has escaped my observation; but the sixth

(227) و قلعه اصطخر و اسکنوان بکماشته سلطان سپارد و در بعضی از تواریخ بنظر رسیده که مدت چهار هزار سالست که صداي کوس پنج نوبت از بام ان دو قلعه بگوش ساکنان هفت اسمان رسیده است این بیت فردوسي "بسه کنبدان صطخر گزین" "بود جاي شاهان ایران زمین" اشارت بدین دو قلعه داشته اند.

MI'RKHOND here alludes to the *núbet* نوبت or sounding of trumpets and drums of a particular kind, which generally mark the time of sunrise and sunset in places honoured by the royal residence, and in cities governed by persons of a certain rank; the word *núbet* is sometimes used to express the (نقاره) *nakáreh* or kettle-drum used on these occasions, as we learn from the Dict. *Burhán Kátea*, which mentions that in the time of Alexander it was struck three times every day; a fourth *núbet* was afterwards added; and under SULTA'N SANJAR (سلطان سنجر) in the twelfth century of our era, a fifth *núbet* became usual.

informs us that about A. H. 853, (A. D. 1449) Prince ABDALLAH (عبد الله) "passed some anxious days in the castle "of *Istakhr*," (خودرا بقلعه اصطخر رسانيد و چند روز در انجا بناكامي گزرانيد) while uncertain what fate he was to receive from SULTA'N MU'HAMMED, then at *Shíráz*[228]. In MI'RKHOND'S seventh volume I have not discovered the name of *Istakhr*[229]; but his *khátmah* (خاتمه) or Appendix describes that city as the capital of Solomon, to which he sometimes proceeded in one day from *Baalbek* in Syria; "and that Fire-temple "wherein a sudden extinction of the flame was one of the "miraculous indications of our blessed prophet's birth, stood "at *Istakhr*; and without the city are many stupendous "buildings; and among the fissures of a mountain near *Is-*

(228) This sixth volume exhibits the name of *Istakhr* in another passage, but merely as distinguishing (A. H. 820, A. D. 1417) that gate of *Shíráz* already mentioned (p. 383).

(229) That the first six volumes of the *Rauzet al Safá* were composed by MI'RKHOND himself, there is not any reason to doubt; but respecting the seventh volume and the appendix, a chronological difficulty has been remarked by Monsieur Jourdain, in his account of the Persian work, (Notices et Extraits des MSS. &c. Tome. IX). MI'RKHOND died, says this accomplished Orientalist, in the year 903 (1498); yet the seventh volume records events of the year 911, and M. Jourdain has ascertained that the additions in it were made by KHONDEMI'R; but the appendix, he thinks, may have been written by MI'RKHOND. In my copy of the seventh volume some dates occur much later than 911; indeed one passage, within a few pages of the end, expressly mentions حالا كه تاريخ هجري بسنه تسع عشرين و تسعمايه رسيده "now that "the date of the *Hejrah* has arrived at the year 929;" but I am willing to believe that MI'RKHOND himself composed the early part which exhibits his name, like some of the preceding volumes, in red ink, after a few introductory lines in the title page, of which the first words are (according to my copy) حصول سعادت دارين حمد پروردكاري The author's name thus occurs about midway in the title page after a common prelude.

اما بعد چنين گويد فقير حقير كثير اضعف عباد الله محمد ابن خاوند شاه

"*takhr* was constructed a vast temple or stately edifice; and "there the wind continually blows; for which reason Solo- "mon, on whom be the peace of God! is said to have im- "prisoned the wind in that edifice, but how true this cir- "cumstance may be, is best known to the Almighty([230]).

KHUA'ND EMI'R (خواند امیر) or KHONDEMIR' the son of MI'RKHOND, began to compose his (خلاصة الاخبار) *Kheláset al ákhbár* "The best parts selected from Chronicles," or the "Cream of History" in the year 904 (A. D. 1498) as the fourth page of my copy indicates([231]). Although in this work he mentions *Istakhr* fourteen or fifteen times, yet MI'RKHOND and various writers above quoted have anticipated most of his information respecting that city. Like some of them he ascribes its foundation to CAIUMERS and its enlargement to JEMSHI'D; he notices the remaining columns

([230]) و انشکده که فرومردن ان از جمله علامات ولادت حضرت رسالتاست صلي الله علیه و سلم در ان بلده بوده است و در بیرون ان شهر ابنیه عجیبه بسیارست و در شکاف کوهي که نزدیک باصطخر است هیکلي عظیم ساخته‌اند و پیوسته باد بر ان هیکل میوزد بنابر ان میگویند که سلیمان علیه السلام بادرا درون ان هیکل حبس کرده است و العلم عند الله تعالي

([231]) Here may be noticed a mistake in D'Herbelôt's Bibliothèque Orientale, under the article "*Khelassat al akhbar.*" This, he says, is the title of a work written by MI'RKHOND; and he describes it as containing an universal history down to 904; but it appears that this was the year in which KHONDEMI'R undertook the composition; and we find in the tenth *mekálet* (مقالة) or section, within six or seven lines of the end, a date سنه عشرین و تسعمایه A. H. 920, (A. D. 1514). The appendix, too, records the accession of SHAH TAHMA'SP (شاه طهماسپ) in 930, (A. D. 1524).

generally called *Chehil Mináreh*, the festival of *Naurúz*, first celebrated in that place, and the cup made of *fírúzeh* or turquoise (قدح فیروزه) found there, so capacious that it could hold a quantity equal to two *mans*, and inscribed with JEMSHI'D's name(232); *Istakhr* was the seat of GUSHTASP, and on Alexander's death fell to the lot of ANTAKHASH RU'MI (انطخش رومي) or Antiochus the Grecian; and the sacred fire which had glowed without intermission in the temple of that city during a thousand years (در مدت هزار سال) became extinct at the very moment of MUHAMMED's birth in Arabia (A. D. 571); a portentous circumstance which (with others equally credible) caused much alarm to NUSHIRAVA'N king of Persia, emphatically styled the "Just." I omit some facts of little interest, or related nearly in the words of authors above quoted; and shall only state that YAAKU'B BEIG (یعقوب بیک) confined some princes in the castle of *Istakhr*, (A. H. 893; A. H. 1488) where they were detained almost four years and six months; and I find this place used as a state prison, so lately as the year 907, (A. D. 1501), when KA'SIM BEIG BERNA'K (قاسم بیک برناک) once governor of *Shíráz*, "having "been made captive was sent to the castle of *Istakhr*."

در سنه سبع و تسعمایه اورا گرفته بقلعه اصطخر فرستادند

(232) The fabulous, mystical or real cup of JEMSHI'D exhibited, according to some MSS. seven lines. The cup of Joseph (Genes. XLIV, 5) has perplexed various commentators, like that of Nestor; (Hom. Il. A. 631, Athen. XI. Mart VIII, ep. 6). Persian cups and vases offer many curious subjects for antiquarian notice, as I shall endeavour to prove on a more suitable occasion.

KHONDEMI'R's second and larger Chronicle the *Habíb al Siyar* (حبيب السير) or "Friend of Biography," as we may translate that title(233); does not offer on the subject of *Istakhr*, any information claiming particular notice, in addition to that which he himself and former historians have transmitted, in their works already noticed. That obscure prince whose very name the Persian writers do not clearly ascertain, and whose death after a short reign, FIRDAUSI has recorded (See p. 357), was killed, says KHONDEMI'R; by "three "brothers belonging to the army of *Istakhr*, who having "agreed in their plan for his destruction, attacked him "whilst on horseback, and with swords and lances threw

(233) It has been usual, after D'Herbelôt, to pronounce this name *Habib al seïr*, and to translate it the "Friend of Travelling," or of "Travellers;" but Mr. Hammer proves, most satisfactorily, that the last word ought to be pronounced *Siyar*, as the plural of سيرة, a particular life, or biography, (See the note subjoined by M. de Sacy to M. Jourdain's "Notice del' Hist. Univ. de Mirkhond," in the ninth volume of Notices et Extraits des MSS. &c. Paris, 1812). The Eastern prose writers often affect to introduce into the titles and prefaces of their books (and too frequently into other parts) some emphatick words that may rhyme together in pronunciation; thus the full title of KHONDEMI'R'S work: حبيب السير في اخبار افراد البشر *Habíb al Siyar, fi akhbár efrád al bashar;* where, as Mr. Hammer observes, *al bashar* is placed in rhyme with *al Siyar*. I might illustrate this learned Orientalist's remark by many parallels; the very MS. before us furnishes one in the second line; حميد الاثر و حبيب السير where *alathar* and *alsiyar* rhyme together; and the introduction (p. 4 of my copy) mentions the فن سير *fen siyar* which cannot possibly relate to سير in the sense of travellers or travelling; but must signify the "Knowledge of Biographical records," being here connected with the words *ylm tarikh* (علم تاريخ) or "Science of History," occuring in the next line. KHONDEMI'R divides this work into three volumes and an appendix (سه مجلد و اختتامي) each *mejeled* or volume being subdivided into four *jezú* (جزو) or sections. It may be considered, in fact, as an abridgment of his father MIRKHOND'S *Rauzet al Safá*.

"him from his saddle to the ground"(234). The foundation of that city by CAIUMERS, the exposing of Queen HUMA'I's infant on a river there, and other circumstances are repeated in terms which it is unnecessary here to quote.

YAHIA CAZV'INI (يحيي قزويني) closes with the year 948 (A. H. 1451), his volume entitled *Lubb al Tuárikh* (لب التواريخ) the "Heart or Marrow of Histories"(235). Whatever in this epitome concerns the object of our inquiry, has been copied, almost literally from passages of different writers quoted in the preceding pages; and a Latin translation of the work, made by Gaulmin, was published in one edition (which seems to be rare) of Melchisedec Thevenôt's Collection of Travels (Tome IV); and with some additions by Galland, in the seventeenth volume of Busching's Magazine; but the

(234) و سه برادر از سپاه اصطخر بر قتلش اتفاق نموده در حين سواري بزخم سيف و سنان شهريارا از پشت زين بروي زمين انداختند

He is here styled SHAHRYA'R by KHONDEMI'R, who mentions, however, that some have called him GHARKHA'N (غرخان); others SHAHRI'RA'N (شهرايران); others GURA'Z (كراز), and I find him under different names in various copies of the *Sháhnámeh*.

(235) He denominates himself (يحي ابن عبد اللطيف الحسيني) YAHIA EBN ABDALLATI'F AL HUSEINI, and dates his birth A. H. 885, (A. D. 1480). In the *Tárikh Alum Ará* (تاريخ عالم ارا). I find him quoted as MI'R YAHIA SEIFI CAZVI'NI (ميريحي سيفي قزويني) Sir William Jones was probably deceived by some inaccurate Manuscript when he assigned the "Heart of Histories" to "ABDALLATIF a "native of Cazvin," rather than to his son YAHIA. (See "Persian Grammar," Catal. of Books, third edit. p. 137).

original text has not yet been printed(236). How freely the author has borrowed from his predecessors will appear on comparison of an extract given in my first volume, p. 222, with others in the present volume, (pp. 370, 390) and I shall here quote, for the sake of reference in the next section, a passage from his account of Queen HUMA'I. "And, as "some relate, the *Chehil Mináreh* or "Forty Columns," "also a great house which was in the midst of *Istakhr*, and "which the Muselmáns rendered a mosque, now in a state "of considerable ruin, were constructed by her"(237). These are almost the very words of BEIZA'VI quoted in p. 371, (See also a passage from the *Asehh al Tuárikh*, in p. 391).

The *Haft Aklím* (هفت اقليم) or "Seven Climates," a geographical and biographical work composed by AMI'N AHMED (امين احمد) surnamed RA'ZI (رازي being a native of *Raï* ري), describes *Istakhr*, (Climate III) as having long been the royal capital of Persia, and honoured by the visits of king

(236) Soon after the commencement of my Persian studies, not knowing that this work had ever appeared in any European language, I prepared for the press an English translation of that part which comprises the ancient history of Persia. One literary project which Pietro della Valle two hundred years ago had conceived but probably never executed, was to translate into Italian the "Marrow of Chronicles," a brief history of all the kings of Persia from Adam to Shah Tahmasp—"di tradur da Per-"siano in Toscano un libro che chiamano Midolla delle Historie; & e un breve com-"pendio della historia di tutti i Re della Persia, da Adam infin'a Sciàh Tahamasp," &c. (Viaggi, Lett 12, Feb. 23, 1621).

(237) و بعضي گويند چهل مناره و خانه عظيم كه در وسط اصطخر بوده است و مسلمانان انرا مسجد ساختند و اكنون بغايت خراب است وي ساخته

Solomon; after some particulars already known from other sources, we learn that the remains of this city are a lofty and almost inaccessible fortress; and the edifice called *Chehíl Minár*, a stately palace or *kasr* (قصري) erected by JEMSHI'D; "and at present," says our author, "among the ruins of "that palace fourteen columns still exalt their heads to "heaven"(238). "And two tablets of stone form the gate-"way of that edifice; each about thirty *gaz* long, twenty "wide, and five thick; and in that place the art of sculpture "on marble has been employed with the utmost skill and "ingenuity"(239).

The *Ajáïeb al Gheráïeb* (عجايب الغرايب), the *Jehán A'rá* (جهان ارا), the *Ajáïeb al Beldán* (عجايب البلدان), the *Tárikh Alfi* (تاريخ الغي), the *Tárikh Kibchák Kháni* (تاريخ قبچاق خاني), the *Merát al Alum* (مرات العالم) or *Tárikh Bakhtáver Kháni* (تاريخ بختاور خاني), various dictionaries, and many other manuscript works of recent composition, exhibit occasionally the name of *Istakhr;* but any extract from them would be almost a repetition of some passage quoted in the course of this chapter.

(238) و امروز از ان اثار چهارده ستون باقي است که هر يک از ان سر بفلک دوار برافراخته There must be some mistake in the number of columns here expressed, as seventeen remained standing in the year 1811, (See page 236), about two hundred years after the composition of AMI'N RA'ZI's work.

(239) و دروازه ان عمارت دو تخته سنگ است که هر تختي تخمينا سي کز طول و بيست کز عرض و پنج کز ضخامت دارد و در انجا انوع مهارت و صنعت را در فن سنگتراشي بعمل اورده اند

I must, however, observe that the *Sherf Námeh* (شرف نامه) or History of *Curdestán* (تاريخ كردستان) represents the castle of *Istakhr* as a state prison in which AHMED was confined during the space of ten years, from A. H. 975, or A. D. 1567, (بقلعه اصطخر شيراز فرستاده مدت ده سال در انجا مقيد بوده) and the *Alum Arái Abbási* (عالم اراي عباسي) a Chronicle or *Táríkh* most useful in illustrating the modern history and geography of Persia, confirms this account, and mentions the liberation of AHMED, who had been *Váli* or Governor of *Gílan* (احمد والي كيلان) from the castle of *Istakhr*, about the year of our era 1576.

The *Zeínet al Mejáles* (زينت المجالس, Chap. III, Sect. 4), describes the castle of *Istarakh* (اصطخ) as one of JEMSHI'D's works; (وان قلعه از بناهاي جمشيد است); situate on a steep and lofty mountain, and accessible only by one path (يک راه بيش ندارد); and the celebrated *Vazír* NIZA'M AL MULK (نظام الملک) in his "Book of Precepts" or *Wesayái* (وصاياي) declares how much he was astonished at the sight of that fortress; to take which by the regular operations of a siege would occupy an army two years according to his calculation. In devising arrangements for such an undertaking he passed the first night of his arrival before it; "next morning at early dawn "a cry of mercy! quarter! issued from the garrison of that "fortress; and FAZLU'IAH (the chief mentioned in p. 371) "agreed to pay the stipulated contribution. When I en- "quired (says NIZA'M AL MULK) the occasion of this cir-

"cumstance, it appeared that an earthquake in the night "(having caused a fissure or outlet) all the water of the castle "had flowed away"(240). We afterwards read that "in the "time of the *Píshdádian* and *Caiánian* kings, (the two most "ancient Persian dynasties) a certain talisman was contrived "at *Istakhr* in *Párs*, which had the power of rendering blind "every *Turk* or Scythian who should come there"(241).

The *Tarikh Subbeh Sádek* (تاريخ صبح صادق) is dated in A. H. 1045, (A. D. 1635) by the author MUHAMMED SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI (محمد صادق اصفهاني). Besides many particulars which we have learned from others, this historian relates that RUSTAM (رستم) the great hero of Persia, "hastened to *Istakhr*,

(240) روز ديكر علي الصباح فرياد الامان از اهل حصار برامده فضلويه خراج مقرررا ادا كرد چون از حقيقت حال استفسار نمودم معلوم شد كه درهمانشب زلزله بوقوع انجاميده مجموع اب ان قلعه بر زمين فرو رفته

In this last sentence I have supplied the word اب (water) not found in the original MS. on authority of two works hereafter quoted. We must otherwise have understood that the whole castle had fallen to the ground. Although the MS. *Subbeh Sádek*, as will soon appear, agrees with the *Zeinet al Mejáles* in assigning this event to *Istakhr*, yet, not having seen the "Book of Precepts" wherein it was originally recorded, I must acknowledge some doubts whether we should not for *Istakhr* read *Hhurseh* or *Khursheh*, since that excellent writer AL GHAFFA'RI, applies all the circumstances of this siege to the "Castle of *Hhurseh*, five farsangs distant from *Jahrum*" (قلعهٔ حرسهٔ پنج فرسنكي جهرم) MS. *Jehán Arú*, Hist. of the Sovereigns of *Shebang'reh*). The castle of *Khúrsheh* (خورشهٔ) five farsangs from *Jahrum*, is noticed by HAMDALLAH in his *Nozahat al Culúb*, (ch. 12, sect. of castles).

(241) در عهد پيشداديان و كيانيان كه ملوك عجم بوده اند در اصطخر پارس طلسمي ساخته بودند كه هر تركي كه بانجا ميرسيد كور ميشود

"entered the *harem* of king Ca'u's and there slew Queen "Su'da'bah," (باصطخر شتافت و بحرم سراي كاوس رفت سودابهرا بقتل رسانيد) for she, by a false accustion, had endeavoured to destroy the young Prince Si'a'vesh (سياوش) whom Rustam loved with the affection of a parent. We next find this general visiting Cai Khusrau or Cyrus, at *Istakhr;* and to that place he sent in a bier or coffin the body of Prince Isfendya'r (See p. 364) whom he had killed, that it might be there interred, (تابوت او باصطخر فرستاد). From the *Zeinet al Mejáles* above examined (p. 404), we have learned how an extraordinary failure of water induced Fazlu'iah to surrender the castle of that place; a circumstance related by our present author among events of the year 467, (A. D. 1074). "When I arrived on the territory of *Istakhr*, says "Khua'jeh Niza'm al Mulk, the people affirmed that it "was unnecessary for me to besiege the castle which could "not possibly be taken by force or warlike operations; we "must go, however, I replied; and having proceeded there "accordingly, I commenced the siege, and ordered that "arrangements should be made for a year's residence before "the fortress; but next morning at breakfast-time the "garrison demanded quarter; no person could conjec- "ture why this was done, and the people of the country "were astonished. I afterwards inquired from the besieged, "who said that all the water of their cisterns had flowed "away on that night, and they therefore demanded quarter. "To proceed with this anecdote; Fazlu'iah was taken

"by KHUA'JEH NIZA'M'AM MULK, who imprisoned him in "the castle of *Istakhr*; from this he escaped one night in "the time of MALEK SHA'H; but the governor having re- "ceived intelligence of his flight, pursued, seized and killed "him in the year 468, or of Christ 1075([242]).

The modern Poets of Persia sometimes allude to their ancient capital; thus in a small volume entitled the *Masnavi* of HAZI'N (مثنوي حزين) we read that *Irán* might boast of *Istakhr* as having been the *takhtgáh* or royal residence of JEMSHI'D (که اصطخر او تختگاه جمشید). Of MUHAMMED ALI

([242]) خواجه نظام الملک کوید چون بحدود اصطخر رسیدم اهالی انجا کفتند محاصره مناسب نیست که فتح این قلعه بمحاربه ممکن نبود کفتم البته بباید رفت پس برفتم و محاصره کردم و فرمودم که اسباب اقامت یکساله مهیا کنند دیکر روز بوقت چاشت اهالي قلعه امان خواستند و کس ندانست که موجب چیست اهالي اندیار متحیر کشتند از متحصنان تحقق نمودم کفتند در ان شب تمام ابهاي انبار فرورفت و امان خواستن ازین جهت بود بالجمله خواجه نظام الملک فضلویه را بدست اورد و بقلعه اصطخر حبس فرمود و بعهد ملکشاه او شبي از قلعه بکریخت و کوتوال اکاه شد از پیش رفت و اورا بکرفت في سنه ثمان و ستین و اربعمایه وبکشت

This circumstance is related also in the *Táríkh Alfi* which does not, however, particularly name the castle, according to my copy. It mentions that FAZLU'IAH, confiding in the strength of his fortifications, and the abundant stock of provisions and especially of water, had rejected the terms proposed by NIZA'M AL MULK, who commenced a siege but with little hope of success; for a long time his operations produced no other result than the loss of soldiers, so that he despaired of taking the castle. غیر از کشته شدن سپاه فایده دیکر بران مترتب نمیشد چنانچه از کرفتن ان قلعه نا امید کشت When the garrison unexpectedly offered to surrender, it was found that all their wells had become dry. For this phænomenon the *Táríkh Alfi* does not account; but an earthquake (p. 405) sufficiently explains it. Some doubts whether the circumstance occurred at *Istakhr* or at another place, have been expressed in p. 405, note 240; but I would not suppress the anecdote which is sanctioned by two MSS.

HAZI'N who died about the year 1779, some account has been given in Vol. I. p. 416.

The latest Oriental author whom I can cite on this subject is MI'RZA JA'N (میرزا جان) of *Shíráz*, already introduced to the reader (See p. 19). He travelled from that city to *Isfahán* (in July, 1811), and his journal having mentioned *Istakhr* (spelt after the Persian manner استخر) as the next stage beyond *Zarkán*, informs us that the territory of *Marvdasht* begins at one farsang from the bridge called *Pul i Khán*, (See p. 227), that it comprises twenty villages fallen to ruin, and thirty still inhabited; one of which is *Kenáreh* (کنارہ) containing nearly two hundred families(243). "And beyond "that village about half a farsang is a mountain, and at the "foot of it an extraordinary place; wherein are columns and "marbles sculptured with strange devices and inscriptions; "so that most persons imagine this edifice to have been con- "structed before the creation of man; and others believe "that it is above three thousand years old. In short, it is a "very wonderful building; and most of the sculptures there "are of one kind; many have related that this structure was

(243) قریب به دو صد درب خانه در ان مسکن دارند Literally, two hundred gates or doors of houses It has been already observed (Vol. I. p. xv, note 12) that *der i kháneh* (در خانه) signifying the gate of a house, is used more emphatically to express the royal court or palace. But the modern Persians generally pronounce the word *derb*, as here written by MIRZA JA'N; I have not traced this introduction of the letter *b* after *der*, which the dictionaries do not authorize, to any works older than the *Tarikh Alum Ará*, dated A. H. 1025, (A. D. 1616).

"once a temple dedicated to the adoration of Fire; and many "regard it as the scene of some (other) religious worship "practised by the ancients. Finally, it is now entitled the "*Takht i Jemshíd* or "JEMSHI'D's *Throne*;" and in truth, "those from the four quarters of the word who have seen this "edifice, declare that on the whole surface of the earth "any other equal to it does not exist; it is a place of very "excellent air and water(244).

Two works which might have been examined in an earlier part of this section, I shall notice here, being unable to ascertain their exact dates. One, indeed, bringing down the history of Persia to the year 773 (A. D. 1371), seems to have been composed soon after that period; but does not indicate either the title or the author(245). It mentions the "house

(244) و چون از ان بگذرند بقدر نیم فرسخ کوهي هست و در پاي ان کوه مکان بسیار غریب و ستانها و سنگ‌ها و نقش‌هاي غریب و خطهاي عجیب که اکثري برانند که قبل از خلقت ادم انجا ساخته شده و بعضي برانند که حال سه هزار سال و کسري میباشد خلاصه جاي بسیار غریبي میباشد و اکثر نقشهاي ان بیک صورت میباشد بعضي گفته اند ان اتش خانه بوده است و برخي گویند که معبد پیشینانست خلاصه حال مشهور بتخت جمشید میباشد و الحق در ربع مسکون اشخاصي که دیده اند گفته اند و میگویند که چنین مکاني در تمام روي زمین نیست جاي بسیار خوش اب و هواي هست This specimen of modern composition is copied with literal accuracy from the autograph journal of MI'RZA JA'N.

(245) This MS. consists of 327 large folio pages; and though seemingly perfect, (the upper part of the first leaf being a blank, and having the usual بسم الله at top,) yet begins abruptly with the words اما بعد بدانکه حق تعالي which would imply something preceding; yet a few lines only can have been omitted, for this work describes the creation of man, and even notices a tradition respecting the preadamite race of

and palace" (خانه و قصري) constructed by JEMSHI'D for his own residence at *Istakhr*, and of which the remains are now called *Chehil Mináreh;* the flight of CAI KHUSRAU from *Istakhr;* and the imprisonment of ISFENDYA'R in the castle of that city, (as related in pp. 364, 371). We then read that on the death of DARA'I or Darius, "Alexander caused "his body to be removed with all due ceremony and res- "pect, and sent it to *Istarakh*(246).

To the other work I cannot assign any particular date; but it is named the *Zein al Akhbár* (زين الاخبار) or "Ornament of Chronicles," and will claim more particular notice in a future account of rare Oriental Manuscripts. It informs us that ZERDUSHT having abolished the Sabian religion (دين صابي) and introduced Fire worship, composed the Book *Avestá* (اوستا) which by king GUSHTASP's command was transcribed in golden letters on parchment, and "deposited in the "castle of *Istakhr*, among the treasures of the Persian "kings" (بحصار اصطخر نهادند اندر خزينه ملوک). We next read that SEKANDER or Alexander arrived at *Istakhr*, "wherein was "a certain place called *Dernevisht*, that is to say, the Libra- "ry; in which were many books treating of ZERDUSHT's

(جان بن جان) JA'N BEN JA'N. When the author descends to real history he furnishes many interesting anecdotes which I have not found elsewhere; and shall accordingly notice hereafter in a descriptive Catalogue of my Eastern Manuscripts.

(246) اسكندر داراي‌را بتعظيم تمام برداشت و باصطرخ فرستاد Alexander sent the body of Darius that it might be interred among the sepulchres of his ancestors, as we learn from Justin, (xi. 16). See also Plutarch (in Alex.), and Arrian (iii. 22).

"religion; and of Philosophy, and Medicine, Arithmetick, "and Geometry, and every other science; of all these SE- "KANDER commanded that translations should be made and "sent into Greece, and they were deposited in Macedonia; "and the *Dernebisht* was burnt; thus of all the books which "had been preserved there, and among the Persians gene- "rally, none remained except a few in the hands of some "obscure individuals who kept them amidst the secret re- "cesses of the country"(247).

In this section, the *Shíráz Námeh* (شیراز نامه) which I have quoted in p. 260 and elsewhere, should have occupied a conspicuous place among the Manuscripts that notice *Istákhr;* but the exact date of its composition does not appear from my copy; and besides, the principal passage has been translated by Kæmpfer and Langlès(248).

XII. The reader is now in possession of all that I have gleaned from Eastern writers concerning the ancient capital

(247) و جاي بود كه انرا درنوشت گفتندي يعني دار الكتب اندروي بسيار كتاب بود از علم دين زردشتي و فلسفه و طب و حساب و هندسه و هر علمي اسكندر بفرمود تا همه‌را ترجمه كردند و بروم فرستاد و فرمود بمقدونيا بنهادند و ان درنبشت‌را بسوختند تا هرچه كتاب بود اندروي و اندر ميان عجم كتاب نماند مگر اندك مايه كه در دست مجهولان مانده بود اندر زاويهاي ولايت

(248) See the "Amœnitates Exoticæ" of Kæmpfer, p. 302; and the "Memoire Historique sur Persepolis" of M. Langlès, in the third Volume of his "Collection Portative de Voyages."

of *Pârs*, or Persepolis; which they authorize us to place, without any hesitation, on the plain of *Marvdasht*, *Istakhr*, or Persis, already indicated (p. 337), having probably been the residence of Cyrus's paternal ancestors the Parsagardans or Perseïdans, during many generations before the birth of that monarch. In the plain of *Pârs* I would suppose that tract of ground extending between two and three miles, which Cyrus caused to be cleared of trees and thorns in one day by his Persians, whom, on the same spot, he next day entertained with a luxurious feast; exciting them, at the same time, to revolt against their Median oppressors. This transaction happened, says Herodotus in a certain district of Persis (ην γαρ τις χωρος της Περσικης Lib. I. c. 126) which he has not particularly named; but from Justin we learn that Persepolis was the place([249]); and as Cyrus's mighty empire arose from this event, we may not unreasonably believe that the scene was marked by some great and splendid edifice of which, perhaps, the ruins are among those Persepolitan monuments still claiming the admiration of travellers. From Justin's account

([249]) "Persepolim regreditur (Cyrus); ibi convocato populo, jubet omnes præsto cum "securibus adesse, et silvam viæ circumdatam excidere, &c. (Lib I. c. 6). To clear a road from trees as here related by Justin, or to render useful and productive a piece of barren ground (comprising eighteen or twenty stades, επι οκτωκαιδεκα σταδιους η εικοσι) may have been a secondary object of Cyrus in employing his people on the laborious work mentioned by Herodotus; but he chiefly wished to contrast the fatigues and difficulties of one day with the repose and luxuries of the next. These and still greater blessings, said he, will be your lot, if you shake off the Median yoke; otherwise your lives must be consumed in drudgery and toil equal to the task of yesterday.

immediately following the passage above quoted, Persepolis is fixed as the residence of those spirited women whose reproaches induced their sons and husbands, at first defeated by Astyages and his Medes, to renew the combat, which procured for Cyrus and the Persians, a most important victory([250]). This circumstance Plutarch also has recorded, and from him it appears that the decisive conflict occurred very near the city, which Medes and Persians would soon have entered together had not those venerable matrons arrested their progress before it, or in front of it([251]). Yet according to some, the victory was obtained, where we cannot discover the previous existence of a city. Thus Strabo informs us, that Cyrus commemorated the success of his last battle with Astyages by the erection of a palace and city at "Pasargadæ," honouring it as the scene of his triumph([252]).

([250]) "Astyages—contractis undique auxiliis ipse in Persas proficiscitur et repetito "alacrius certamine," &c. "Pulsa itaque cum Persarum acie paulatim cederet, matres "et uxores eorum obviam occurrunt; orant in prœlium revertantur," &c. (Just. I, 6).

([251]) Αι γυναικες προ της πολεως, &c. (De Virtutib. Mulierum). To commemorate this circumstance Cyrus ordained, as Plutarch adds, that the king on his entrance into the city should always bestow on each woman a piece of gold. To evade compliance with this law, the avaricious Ochus would never actually enter the city, adopting, in preference, a circuitous route. But the generous Alexander not only twice observed this institution of Cyrus, but doubled the gift to every woman that was pregnant. (See Plutarch also in his life of Alexander; and Xenophon, Cyr. VIII, 37, both expressing the city by εις Περσας).

([252]) Τους δε Πασαργαδας ετιμησε Κυρος—και πολιν εκτισε και βασιλειον κατεσκευασε της νικης μνημειον. (Lib. xv). That Cyrus built the city of Passargadæ on the spot where he had conquered Astyages, is also affirmed by Diotimus, on the authority of

After what has been said respecting the identity of Pasargadæ and Persepolis, it is almost unnecessary to declare that I would place the field of battle on the plain of *Marvdasht* or *Istakhr*, and the memorials of victory on the same spot, or on some commanding and more convenient site, immediately adjacent. The Pasargadæan palace, above mentioned by Strabo, seems to me that edifice in the construction of which Cyrus gloried, and which, as Ælian relates, stood at Persepolis(253); here also, if I conjecture rightly, were situate, what classick writers assign to Pasargadæ, the Tomb of Cyrus, and that Temple in which the Persian monarchs invested themselves with his robe, during the solemn ceremony of inauguration(254).

Anaximenes. (See Steph. Byzant. de Urbib. in *Passagardæ.)* It does not seem probable that the Persians when determined on revolt, would have allowed the Medes to advance so far as *Pasá*, where some would place the field of battle. I suppose that Cyrus's paternal-house, (Herodotus calls it τον Καμβυσεω τα οικια, I, 122), was at Persepolis; between this and Ecbatana (or *Hamadán)* the roads were in possession of the Medes, (Herodot. I. 123).

(253) Κυρος μεν, ως φασιν, ο πρεσβυτερος μεγα εφρονει επι τοις βασιλειοις εν Περσαι-πολει οισπερ ουν αυτος ωκοδομησατο. (De Nat. Anim. I. 59).

(254) On this occasion as Plutarch relates (in Artox.) they were clothed in the στολη, which Cyrus had worne before his assumption of regal dignity; they then ate some figs and turpentine, and drank sour milk. I do not recollect any explanation of this ceremony; but am inclined to suppose that the garment was of very plain fashion and coarse materials; such, perhaps, as the Περσικη στολη, which he wore when Cyaxares reproached him for its meanness, (τη δε φαυλοτητι, &c. Xenoph. Cyr. II); and that with the fruit and milk it reminded each successive monarch of the simple dress and frugal diet which characterized the Persians before Cyrus, by his wisdom and bravery, had exalted their nation to the highest glory. Concerning the

But whether those ruins, the chief subject of our inquiry, belonged to a temple or to a palace, the Eastern authors above examined do not determine; for they disagree among themselves, like the European travellers who have explored them, and the antiquaries who from their accounts have formed contradictory opinions. Thus, as we learn from passages quoted in the course of this chapter, Della Valle, Chardin, D'Hancarville and others have supposed them the ruins of a temple; while many like Kæmpfer, Hyde, Niebuhr and Ste. Croix, would assign them to a palace. Niebuhr, indeed thinks it probable that the edifice may have served both for religious worship and for the royal residence(255); in like manner a Persian writer (See p. 382) ingeniously endeavours to reconcile the various traditions respecting it. Equally vague and unsatisfactory are the accounts of its foundation; and we have seen how widely some learned men, English, French,

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the τερμινθος, terebinthus, or turpentine, as generally translated, I once imagined it to signify here that kind of honey or manna, which is found on certain trees and shrubs, and in a moist state called *ter-ángabín* (ترانگبين). Some remarks have been already given (Vol. I. pp. 352, 482), on this substance under its name of *gaz-angabín*. But perhaps *mastich* may be meant by the Greek word, or, perhaps, the *pistachio* fruit. The sour milk is evidently that *áb i dúgh* (اب دوغ or *mást* ماست) a common article of diet among the Persians, noticed in Vol. I. p. 268.

(255) "A mon avis, le tout a d'abord du representer un Temple; car au lieu que l'on "trouve des grands *Sphinx* devant les grands temples de l'Egypte, qui peut-être sont "d'une même antiquité que ces ruines Persepolitaines, on voit d'abord icy a l'entrée, "d'autres animaux fabuleux d'une prodigieuse grandeur," &c.—"Du moins il paroit "avoir été exactement le même palais, qui a été brulé inconsidérément par Alexander." (Voyage, &c. Tome II, p. 99, Amst. 1780).

Germans, and others differ in their calculations of its antiquity, which has been exalted (as a retrospective glance at page 340 will show) to above five thousand years, and reduced to about four thousand, two thousand six hundred, two thousand three hundred[256], and to little more than two thousand[257]. For myself I confess that actual inspection did not wholly satisfy me respecting its original destination; although the name *Sháh Kúh* (کوہ شاہ) by which the steep and lofty rock behind it is sometimes called, exactly corresponds to the Βασιλικὸν ὄρος, or "Royal Mountain," described by Diodorus, (Lib. xvii), as being distant from the palace, eastwards, four *plethra* (τετταρα πλεθρα) or four hundred feet, and containing the sepulchres of the kings; up to which the bodies were drawn by some mechanical contrivance[258].

[256] Mr. Hoeck, who supports the opinion of Heeren, willingly assigns the origin of Persepolis, in a general sense, to Cyrus; but the palace to Darius Hystaspis,—"hujus tamen palatii originem Dario Hystaspis tribuo," &c. (Veteris Mediæ et Persiæ Monumenta, p. 20). This was not, however, he thinks, the Persian monarch's usual residence; but the place where those lived who attended or guarded the royal bodies deposited in the adjacent tombs; and where the successors of Cyrus were invested with his royal robe, and the treasures of deceased kings accumulated.

[257] This low calculation was proposed by the late Professor O. G. Tychsen, in his work "De Cuneatis Inscriptionibus Persepolitanis," (Rostoch. 1798), wherein he assigns the *Chehil Minár* to a king of the Arsacidan dynasty. However extravagant the first calculation may seem, I do not believe that any edifice of stone resembling the *Takht*, in style, magnitude or beauty, has been erected in Persia since the time of Alexander. To those who founded the *Takht* and their immediate successors of the same dynasty, I would asscribe the excavated tombs near that edifice and those at the place now called, absurdly, *Naksh i Rustam*.

[258] Εν ϕ των Βασιλεων υπηρχον οι ταφοι—υπ' οργανων δε τινων χειροποιητων, &c. (Diod. Sic. xvii). It appears from various travellers that this mountain has latterly

Yet this proximity to sepulchral monuments, from the gloomy ideas of mortality excited by such objects, may, perhaps, indicate the subjacent edifice rather as a temple dedicated to the solemn ceremonies of religion, than as a palace, the seat of voluptuous monarchs. Whether the "Royal Mountain" of Diodorus, be the "Double (or two-topped) Mountain" (διασσος ορος) wherein Darius the son of Hystaspes caused a tomb to be constructed for himself, as we learn from Ctesias(259); whether this tomb be one of the excavations in the steep rock at *Naksh-i-Rustam* (See p. 296); or that single sepulchre which has been described as distant from the *Takht* about three quarters of a mile southward (p. 272); also, whether the small square edifice opposite to the sculptured rock of *Naksh-i-Rustam*, and noticed in p. 298, was that which once contained the body of Cyrus, and which, while climbing, not without difficulty, up into its narrow

borne the name of *Rahmet* (رحمت) signifying "mercy;" but this is an Arabick word and cannot have been the original denomination; nor have I ever read in any Eastern MS. that the mountain was so called. The name *Sháh Kúh* presented itself spontaneously; for one day when distant a few miles from the ruins, I made inquiries respecting different villages and other objects then within view, some peasants indicated the *Sháh Kúh* or "Royal Mountain," which they also styled the *Kúh e Takht* (کوہ تخت) having at its foot the "Throne of Jemshíd." Sir Thomas Herbert, almost two hundred years ago, observed that it was called "by the modern Persians *Shawachoo* and *Choo-Rahmet*, i. e. the Mountain of Mercy." (Trav. p. 147. 3d edit).

(259) Forty men were employed, as Ctesias relates, (cap. xv), in winding up by means of ropes, the father and mother of Darius, who had expressed a desire to inspect the tomb; but the ropes slipped, both fell, and were killed; and Darius put to death the forty men, although they were priests (ιερεις); the circumstance, also, appears to have been wholly accidental.

doorway, I thought, in many respects, conformable with the description of that monarch's tomb, given by Strabo and Arrian(260); whether Persepolis was actually "the richest city "under the sun" (πλουσιωτατης δε ουσης των υπο τον ηλιον) as Diodorus (Lib. xvii) affirms it to have been when Alexander, excepting the king's palace, delivered it up to plunder; what articles besides gold and silver, we may suppose chiefly constituted the royal treasures, and the wealth accumulated in its private houses during a long series of years, some generations or ages (εκ πολλων χρονων) as the same historian relates; how far it is possible to reconcile its annihilation, as described by Curtius alone, (V. 7) with the proofs of its subsequent existence and importance furnished by many Greek and Roman writers, the Peutingerian table which styles it "Commercium "Persarum," and the still later testimonies of Arabian and Persian manuscripts; how far the city extended, and the exact situation of its principal buildings, temples, castles and palaces; all these and many other particulars concerning this great capital, form interesting subjects of research for the antiquary, but cannot be here discussed(261).

(260) It was "a tower not large," πυργος ου μεγας, having a very narrow entrance, (Strabo XV). It was situate, says Arrian (VI, 29) εν τω παραδεισω τω βασιλικω, "in "the royal garden," amidst trees and running streams; although the small square edifice be not at present surrounded with trees, the plain in its immediate vicinity is finely watered, and might easily be rendered a flourishing garden; the square foundation, the stone roof of this edifice mentioned by Arrian, and other circumstances I shall notice on a future occasion.

(261) On many of those particulars it was natural to expect information from a work published in London, 1739, under the promising title of "Persepolis Illustrata."

Our illustrious Jones himself could not pronounce any decisive opinion concerning what he styles "the very an-"cient ruins of the temple or palace now called the Throne "of Jemshíd"([262]). I shall not therefore protract this chapter already extended, almost imperceptibly, to a disproportionate length, by offering conjectures, though founded on actual inspection of those ruins([263]). I must here acknowledge that some local circumstances appeared to favour the idea of a palace; others of a temple; that in such uncertainty my chief hopes rest on the discovery of an alphabet which may explain the arrow-headed or cuneiform inscriptions; and that

But it does not, in any degree, improve our knowledge of the subject derived from earlier publications; for the whole volume, (a thin folio) contains little more than certain passages from Greek and Latin authors, and some plates from the designs of Chardin and Lebrun, which those passages (all engraved) are supposed to illustrate.

([262]) "Discourse on the Persians," Asiat. Res. Vol. II. p. 55, (Lond. 1801).

([263]) Whatever religious rites may have been celebrated here in early ages, I cannot believe that this edifice now called the "Throne of Jemshíd" was at any time used by the *Muselmáns* as a *Masjed* or Mosque, which some have been induced to suppose from a passage in the "Bibliothèque Orientale" of D'Herbelôt, who, (under *Estekhar*) mentions the magnificent palace now called *Tchil Minar* or the "Forty Columns," constructed by Queen HUMA'I in the middle of the city; this palace, he adds, the *Muselmáns* converted into a Mosque. But his authority is the MS. *Lub al Tawarikh*, which, after a collation of several copies, I have quoted in p. 402. It seems, in my opinion, to distinguish clearly the *Takht* or *Chehil Minár*, from that edifice which the *Muselmáns* made a mosque, and which stood in the midst of the city. The older work of *Beizávi* has been on this occasion, as in many parts of the *Lub al Tawaríhh*, copied almost verbally, and a passage extracted in p. 371, will shew that it does not confound the two structures; which are also distinguished by the *Asehh al Tawaríkh*, quoted in p. 391. The situation of "Jemshíd's Throne" at the very foot of a steep mountain, but little corresponds to "the midst of a city;" and its sculptured figures would not recommend it to *Muselmán* bigots.

for such a clue as might guide us through the Persepolitan and Babylonian mysteries, I look with much greater confidence to the talents of Mr. Grotefend than to any result of my own labours. Meanwhile, the plain of *Marvdasht* has not yet been regularly surveyed, nor the course of its rivers accurately traced; it offers like the mountains which bound it, several interesting remains of which hitherto our knowledge is imperfect; the narrow pass by which Alexander entered it has not been ascertained; some tombs, extraordinary passages cut in the solid rock, and different excavations have not yet been explored; many architectural fragments and sculptured figures have not yet been delineated; and of numerous inscriptions we have not hitherto seen any copies. Hence it appears, that although Chardin, Kæmpfer, Le Brun, Niebuhr and others have done much, future travellers will find much yet remaining to be done towards the illustration of Persepolitan Antiquities.

CHAPTER XII.

From Persepolis to Ispahán.

SOON after one o'clock on the fourteenth of July, we left Persepolis; and travelling for some time in the dark or by faint moonlight, we passed the *Naksh-i-Rejeb*, and at four or five miles the remains of handsome buildings, pillars, and doorways, executed in the same style as those of the *Takht-i-Jemshíd;* about half past six in the morning we alighted at our tents situate in the valley of *Sívend* (سیوند); the march of this day being sixteen miles and seven furlongs.

The village of *Sívend* was distant from us two miles; it seemed built chiefly on the sloping side of a mountain; but during the excessive heats of summer when water becomes scarce, the inhabitants remove into the valley where we encamped, and live in huts or other temporary structures, on the banks of a stream, sometimes called the (اب) *áb* water, or (رود خانه) *rúd kháneh* river, of *Sívend;* but it is also denominated

the *Palwar*, often corrupted into *Falfar* or *Farfar*; and has already been described (p. 329) as flowing into the river *Kur* or *Bandemír*. Here we were supplied with very excellent butter, bread, fresh milk and *mást*, (the sour milk before mentioned); Fahrenheit's Thermometer in the shade was up to 100 at twelve o'clock. Like the plain of *Marvdasht*, this valley of *Sívend* was covered with the liquorice plant; and contained some good trees, among which was one very large and beautiful *chinár* (چنار), or Oriental Plane.

On the fifteenth we began to march in the dark, at half past one; and at seven o'clock in the morning reached our place of encampment near *Kemín* (کمین), after a ride of seventeen miles. This village affords a pleasing prospect, having gardens and vineyards; we saw, within one farsang of it, the vestiges of an edifice called *Gumbed-i-Surkh* (گنبد سرخ) or the "Red Tower;" and supposed one of the seven villas erected by order of BAHRA'M GU'R, to serve as places of residence for so many princesses; of this building the ruins are mostly clay; and nothing now remains to indicate either its importance, beauty or antiquity(1).

(1) The Persians who in defiance of orthography affect, on many occasions, what they consider a mode of speaking soft or sweet (شیرین *shirín*), almost invariably pronounce the word *gumbed* as if the final letter were *z*. But that it should be د *d*, without a point (دال بي نقطه) is posivively stated in the Dict. *Burhán Káteá* (under گنبد), which describes it as a kind of circular edifice constructed of brick clay, mortar, &c. It is, in fact, what we generally call a dome or cupola; and in Chardin's time the word, we may believe, was pronounced as at present, although he writes *s* for *z*; "l'on appelle un dôme *Gombes* en Persan." (Voyages, Tome IX, p. 35, Rouen, 1723).

For several hours after our arrival at the camp it was found impossible to procure any food; all the men of *Kemín* having fled to avoid the oppression usually practised in levying the *Siúrsát* or allowance of provisions required for Ambassadors and their attendants who on a journey are considered as the king's guests (See Vol. I, p. 259). It was here discovered that MI'RZA ZEKI our *Mehmándár*, one of the chief ministers, had for a promised bribe of forty *tumáns* (or about thirty-six pounds), engaged to the people of this place that our party should not halt here but proceed at once by a forced march to *Murghâb*, distant five farsangs or eighteen miles; and his avarice induced him to propose this fatiguing journey; but Sir Gore Ouseley declared that he would not advance beyond the regular stage, originally appointed for the day's rest; as not only the baggage-mules might be injured, but many of the artillery-men and other Europeans, besides some *hamáls* (حمال) or Indian *palankín* bearers, and the Armenian treasurer, KHOJEH ARETU'N were much indisposed and suffered considerably from heat.

The rage of MI'RZA ZEKI, thus disappointed, fell heavily on the wretched women and children from whom his servants took every egg, fowl and morsel of bread that could be found in their huts and hovels; they were robbed even of clothes and other articles, and some who came to our camp, soliciting redress, were driven away by order of the *Mehmandár* who did not wish that his conduct should be

made known to the Ambassador; many, also, were severely beaten as I afterwards learned; indeed the cries of females were distinctly heard during the day at different times.

Kemín within a few years had been a very flourishing village, but its ruin commenced when it became the property of one MI'RZA HA'DI (ميرزا هادي) a favourite of the Prince's mother, and her agent in pecuniary affairs; the extortions of this man had impoverished, and in some instances nearly depopulated, the ample territories under his jurisdiction which extended almost to *Fasá*. The geographical work of HAMDALLAH, composed in the fourteenth century, represents *Kemín* and a place named *Karún*, as "two towns "having many dependent districts; enjoying a temperate "air, and watered by running streams; also yielding much "corn and fruit, and abounding with game(2).

We set out on the sixteenth at one o'clock in the morning, and having proceeded about thirteen miles, turned off on the left to examine some monuments of antiquity which bear the general name of *Máder-i-Suleimán* (مادر سليمان) or "the Mother of Solomon;" although their different parts have been distinguished by various denominations, as I

(2) كمين و قارون دو شهرست و توابع بسيار دارد و هواي معتدل و اب روان دارد و غله و ميوه بسيار دارد و دران حدود نخجير فراوان است

MS. *Nuzhat al Culúb*, ch. 12. One copy for قارون *Karún*, reads فاروق *Fárúk*.

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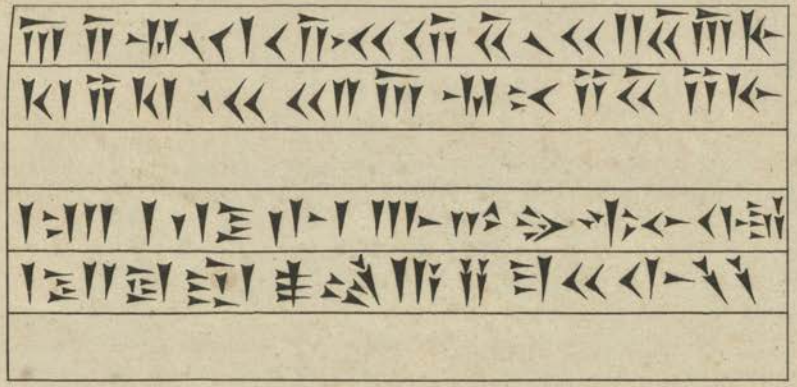

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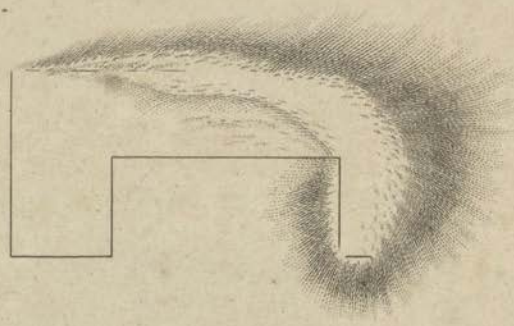

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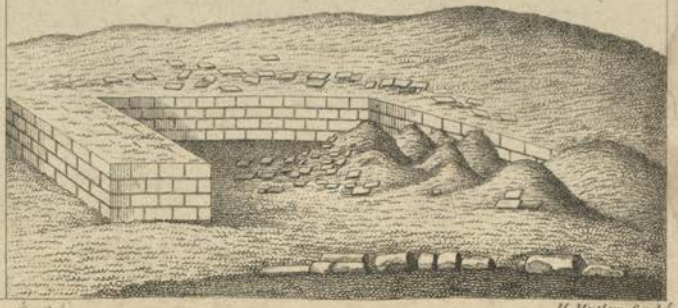
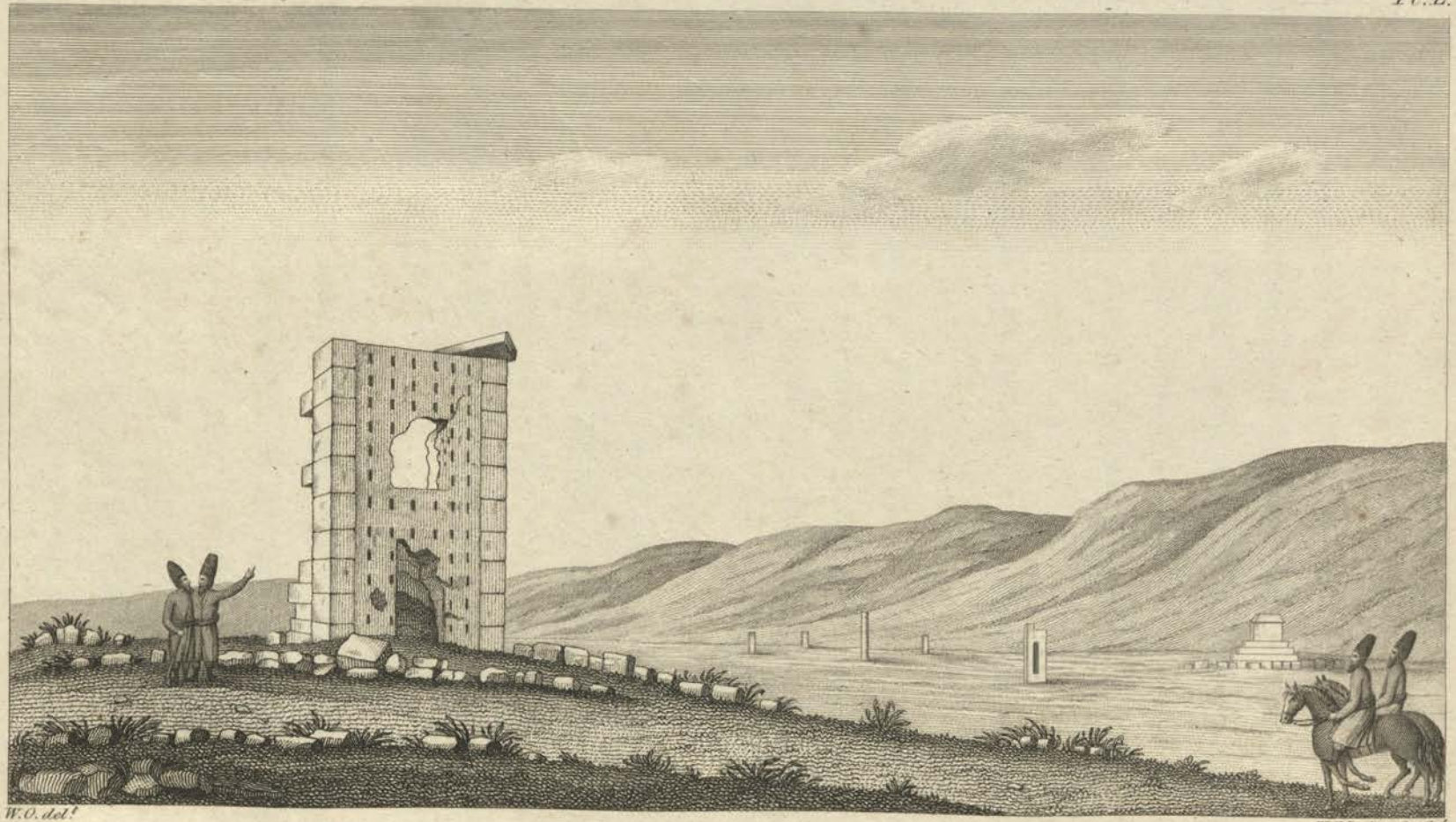


W. O. del.

H. Mutlow, Sculp.

Antiquities at Máder i Suleimán.



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H. Mutlow Sculp.t

Zindán at Máder i Suleimán.

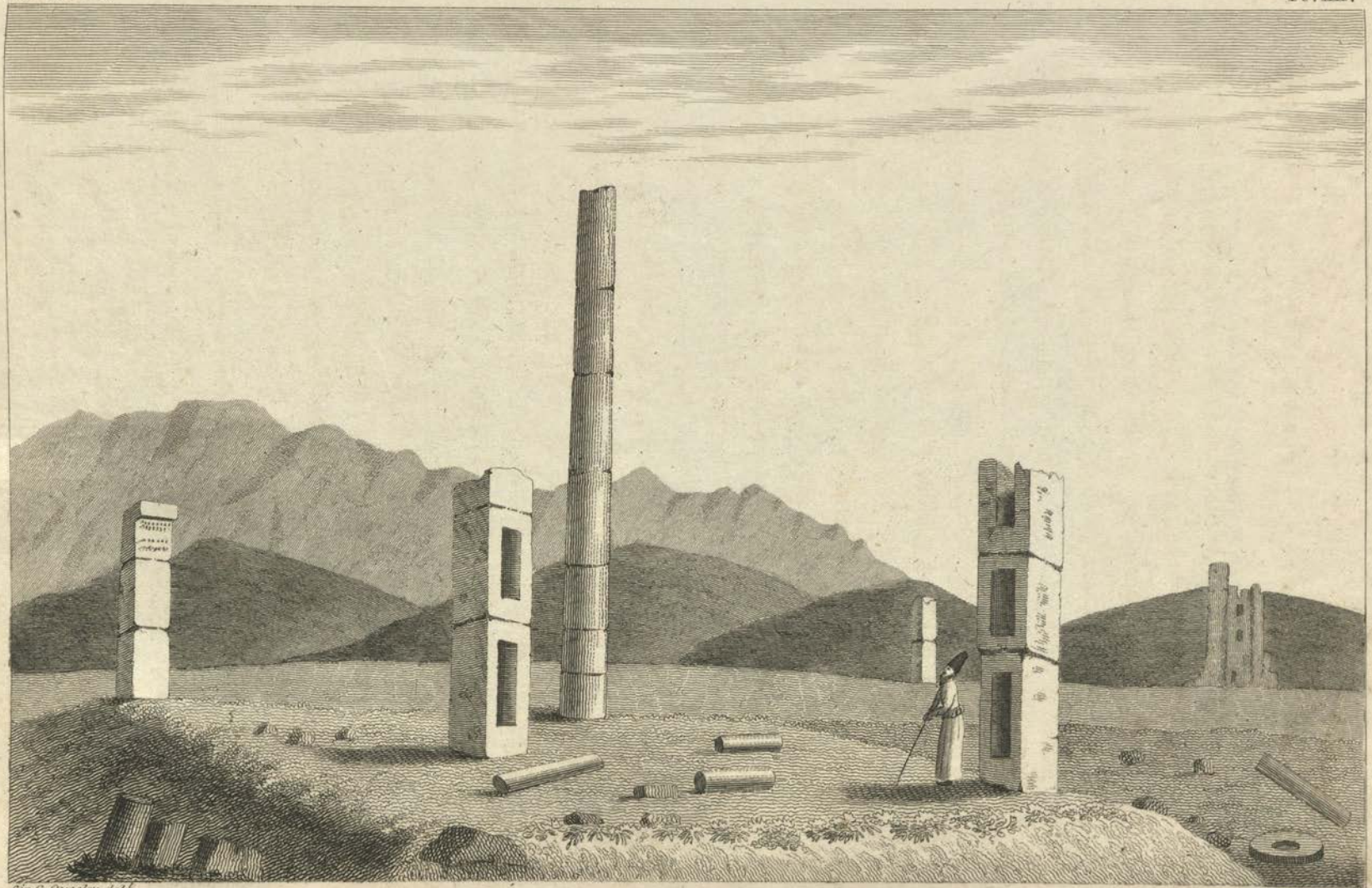
found on inquiry from some *Iliáts*, attending their flocks among the ruins. The first object examined was the *Takht-i-Suleimán* (تخت سلیمان) or "Throne of Solomon;" this is the extremity of a mountain built up and faced with masonry of large and well-cut stones, most of which were bored with holes, perhaps for the insertion of iron wedges, forming altogether a kind of terrace; the space between the projecting wings being about sixty yards (See the plan, Pl. XLIX, fig. 1). I sketched (in two points of view) the appearance of this terrace (Pl.XLIX, fig. 2 and 3) which was probably the foundation or substructure of a palace; and descending a little below it, came to the *Zindán-i-Suleimán* (زندان سلیمان) or "Solomon's Prison," a building constructed of very large stones and, as might be perceived from the wall still remaining, once exactly like the square edifice at *Naksh-i-Rustam*, already noticed (p. 298). Of this resemblance the reader will be enabled to judge from the annexed delineation (Pl. L) in which I have comprehended with this *Zindán*, more distant ruins, the pillars and the tomb as they appeared at one view on this interesting plain.

Not very remote stood a single pilaster, in height about twenty feet, and composed of two or three great stones (See Pl. XLIX. fig 4). In the upper part was a tablet exhibiting four lines of arrow-headed or Persepolitan characters; spaces capable of containing two other lines being left blank, one between the second and third; and one under the fourth,

Having copied this inscription (as it is engraved in Pl. XLIX, fig. 5), I went on to a cluster of pillars and pilasters, nearly similar to that which has been described; a column, and other remains, constituting what the peasants called *Diván Kháneh* (دیوان خانه) or the "Hall of Audience"(3). Here also were inscriptions of the same size and letters as that above given; three which I examined and compared differ from it only in the situation of their blank spaces; one having them between the first and second and the third and fourth lines; another as may be seen in Mr. Morier's first volume, (Pl. XXIX), has its blanks under the second and the third lines; still each inscription presents the same characters arranged in the same number of lines.

While inspecting the *Takht* and the *Zindán* (for these names may serve until more appropriate can be bestowed) I was separated from my friends, most of whom having examined the various ruins, proceeded on their way towards *Murghâb*, the halting-place or *manzel*. Although the peasants were obliging and respectful, it did not seem adviseable for a stranger attended by one servant only, to continue long among them; I therefore hastened to the most perfect of those monuments, distant about three quarters of a mile. This might be considered as the principal object here, were

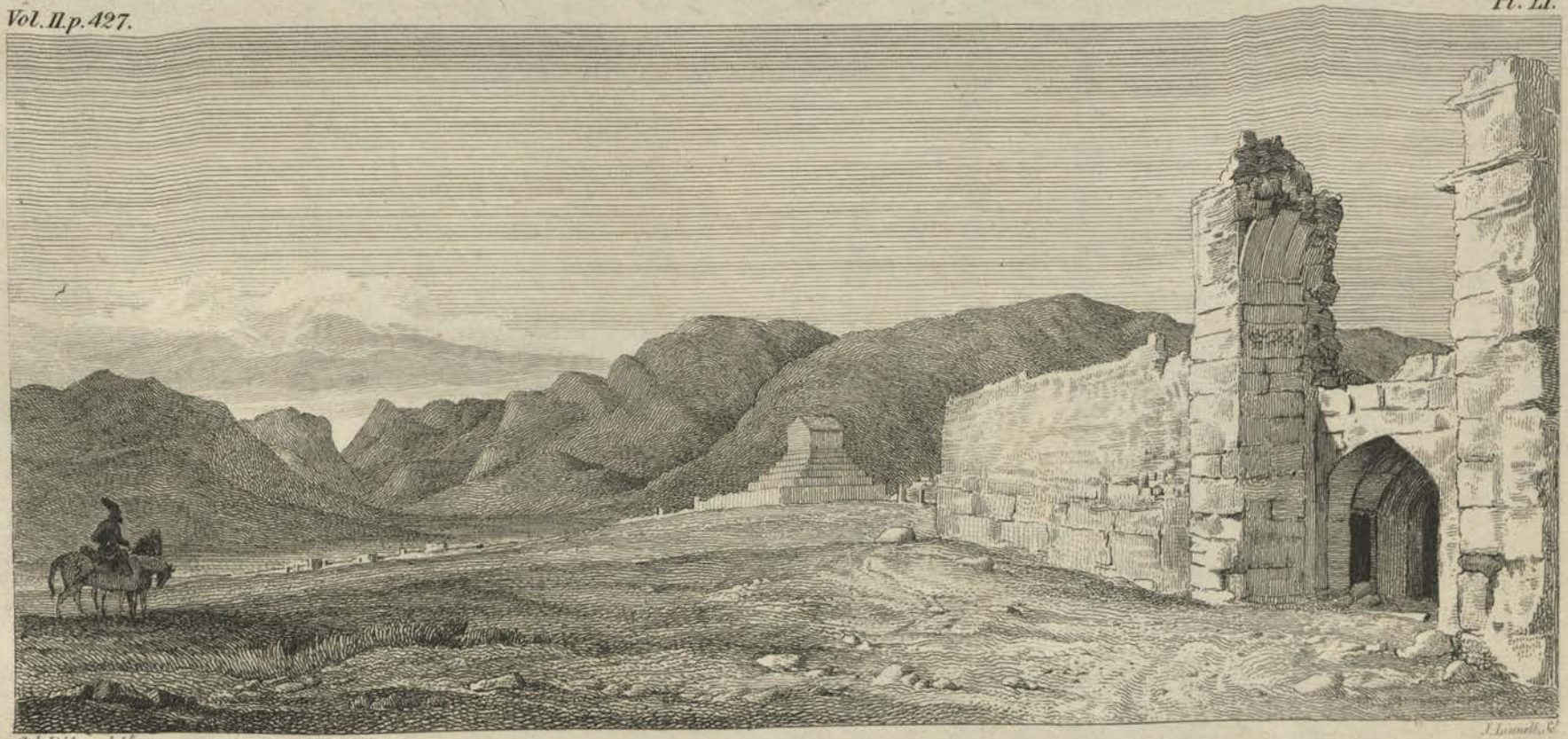
(3) See the View of these remains engraved in Pl. LII, from a sketch made by Sir Gore Ouseley.



Sir G. Ouseley del.

H. Mudlow Sculp.

Ruins at Máder i Suleimán.



Col. D'Arcy del.t

J. Linnell Sc.t

Ruined Caravanserai near Máder i Suleimán.

it possible to adopt the local tradition, and suppose that the body of Bathsheba had ever been entombed in the extraordinary edifice now called the *Mashehd* (See p. 45), the *Masjed* (مسجد or temple), the *Gúr* or *Kabrgáh* (گور and قبرگاه both signifying "the grave") of Solomon's Mother. Near this, Colonel D'Arcy was engaged in delineating the surrounding scenery; and I, having explored the recesses of a decayed caravansera, regretting that time would not allow me to copy some Arabick inscriptions visible there, ascended the high steps of Bathsheba's sepulchre; a singular building which I should not have hesitated to believe the *Tomb of Cyrus* had the discovery of it rewarded my researches in the vicinity of *Pasá* or *Fasá*; or if, as Mr. Morier says, "its position had corresponded with the site of *Passagarda*," (Trav. Vol. I. p. 145).

It is a square house, or rather a single chamber, above twenty feet long and sixteen broad on the outside, the walls and roof being composed of few but very large stones; it has only one entrance, a narrow doorway not above four feet high, and on its four sides the ascent is by seven stages of huge granite masses, forming so many steps extremely inconvenient from their steepness, each stage as it rises from the ground being narrower than that on which it rests. I sketched its general appearance from the same spot where Colonel D'Arcy had made a view; and he having favoured me with his drawing, the reader will, no doubt, be pleased that I have preferred it to my own, as the subject of Pl. LI.

This view includes the gateway of the ruined *caravanserá*. But as a nearer prospect of the tomb may be desirable I annex a view made by Sir Gore Ouseley, which represents that end containing the door (See Plate LIII), and the most distant appearance of it has been already given in my sketch, (See Plate L). The wooden door was locked, but not closely fitted; and through an opening I looked into the chamber which to me seemed perfectly empty. The key, as my servant said, was always kept by women; and he could not then find the guardians of this tomb. They had, perhaps, removed from the chance of further contamination by infidel hands, those *Koráns*, tin lamps, and other little offerings, the usual furniture of a Muhammedan saint's tomb, which Mr. Morier (Trav. Vol. II. p. 117) had seen there an hour before; but the Arabick inscription on the walls, hastily noticed by him, is well worthy the attention of travellers more at leisure.

The remains of several marble columns were scattered on the ground near the mud-wall inclosing this monument, at the foot of which is a modern cemetery. Around the building and on the plain in various places, were vestiges of considerable structures that indicated a city both handsome and extensive; fragments of hewn marble appeared in great quantities; an old *Iliát* spoke to me of sculptures still visible, and Mr. Gordon saw on one of the pilasters, a human figure with wings and a crown of extraordinary shape; (See this figure copied in Plate XLIX, fig. 6, by Mr. Gordon's permission from his sketch made on the spot).

Sir G. Ouseley del.t

H. Mutlow Sculp.t

Máder i Suleimán.

The early European travellers who notice this extraordinary place afford but little information respecting it; they content themselves with describing the tomb of Solomon's Mother, an edifice of, at least, doubtful antiquity; but seem to have passed without observing the other objects which, from the inscriptions engraved in arrow-headed letters, may perhaps be reckoned coeval with Persepolis. Joseph (or Josaphat) Barbaro who went from Venice to Persia in the year 1471, says that "at the distance of two days journey (from *Cilminar* "or the "Forty Columns") is a village called *Thimar*, and be- "yond this at the same distance is another, where a certain "monument has been erected in which, as people relate, the "Mother of Solomon was entombed; over this a chapel "has been built and on the wall of it are expressed, in Arabick "characters, the words *Mater Suleimen* signifying the mother "of Solomon. By the inhabitants this place is denominated "*Messeth Suleimen*, or, as we may say, Solomon's Temple. "Its door looks towards the east"(4).

Sir Thomas Herbert travelled from *Shirâz* to *Ispahân* in the year 1627; he mentions the Tomb but did not see it

(4) "Duorum illinc dierum itinere villa quædam distat Thimar dicta; et ab eadem "simili rursum spacio alia quædam villa, ubi monumentum quoddam extructum est; "in eademque sepultam Salomonis matrem esse dicunt; supra hoc capella facta; et "in pariete illius characteres Arabici, ad hunc modum expressi, Mater Sulcimen, "hoc est, mater Salomonis. Locus ille ab incolis indigitatur Messeth Sulcimen, "quod nos templum Salomonis esse dicimus; porta illius Orientem versus spectat." (Jos. Barbari Itinerarium in Bizari de reb. Pers. Opere, p. 474).

himself; and has mistaken the Arabick letters of Barbaro (above quoted from the work of Bizarus) for Hebrew; and on his own errour founds an etymological conjecture; he also misunderstood the position there assigned to it(5).

In 1638 the ingenious Mandelslo "lodged at night," as he informs us, "in a great village called *Meshid Maderre* "*Soliman*, by reason of a sumptuous sepulchre which is "within half a league of it. The sepulchre is in a litle chappel "built of white marble, upon a high square of free-stone "work, so as that the going up to it is by steps of all sides. "The air and rain have eaten into the wall in several places; "but time hath in a manner consumed several great pillars "of marble, whereof what remains may be seen all about "the structure. Upon the wall of the chappel there are "yet to be seen in Arabian characters these words, *Mader* "*Suleiman*. The inhabitants say that Solomon's mother "was interr'd there; but the Carmelite Fathers of *Schiras*, "with more likelihood of truth, told me that it was the "sepulchre of the mother of SCHACH SOLIMAN, the 14 "calif or king of the posterity of Aaly"(6).

(5) "Nor far distant hence," says he, "is *Thymar;* memorable (if *Byzar* err not) "in an ancient monument, by some Hebrew characters supposed to be the burial-"place of *Bath sheba* the mother of king *Solomon;* which probably may be mistaken "for *Beth shemesh*, which signifies a house dedicated to the Sun. Howbeit, 'tis "called *Mechit Zulzimen*, i-e, Solomon's chappel; a place (if truly so) well worthy "seeing." Trav. p. 161, 3d edit.

(6) I quote the old translation of Mandelslo's Travels made by Davies, and printed in London, 1662, folio, (p. 4).

The Heer Basting, a Dutch traveller on his way from *Ispahán* to *Gomroon*, in the year 1645, visited this monument which he describes as a stone *Mesdjed* or Moorish Temple, supposed by the people of that place to have been the *Madresa Soleyman*, the high school or college of Solomon; where a pyramid over a sepulchre yet remains(7).

Chardin, who in the year 1674 went from *Ispahán* to the South by way of *Asepás* (اسپاس), had not an opportunity of seeing these remains, but strangely confounds them with the "Throne" or "Temple" of Solomon's mother, situate within a few miles of *Shiráz*, although the Venetian traveller's Itinerary, to which he alludes evidently places between them an interval of at least five days' journey(8).

A passage has been already quoted (p. 45) from the *Gazophylacium Persicum*, published in 1684, by Father Angelo, after a residence in Persia of fourteen years; it at least proves that this ingenious Carmelite differed widely in opinion from his catholick predecessors at *Ispahán*, concerning the anti-

(7) "En steen Mesdjid of Moorze Tempel staat, die, na't zeggen der Inlander, "Madresa Soleyman, dat is, de Hooge School of Leer-plaats, van Soliman genaamd "werd, alwaar men ook eenige Piramiden op een Graf-stede staan ziet." (Valentyn's Collection, Vol. V, p. 246). It is evident that the Dutch traveller mistook the word *Máder* with the *s* of *Suleimán* following, for *Madrasseh* (مدرسة) a school or college.

(8) "*Bizarus* raporte qu'on voit là un tombeau inscrit de caractères Hebreux," &c. (Voyages, Tome IX. p. 185, Rouen, 1723). I have above given from Barbaro (through the medium of Bizarus) the passage to which Chardin here alludes.

quity of those monuments attributed to Bathsheba, which he considered far beyond all tradition; in making that extract I quoted his Latin column, as being more full than the others; but it is necessary here to remark that he visited the tomb himself, as we learn from the Italian(9), and says in the Persian column that it was called *Kabr-i-mader-i-Sulimán* (قبر مادر سلیمان) or "the burial place of Solomon's mother."

To supply the deficiencies of our Europeans, I have searched for information concerning this place among the Eastern writers; they however, afford but little and that little is very unsatisfactory; those two, at least, in whose manuscript works alone I have found this monument noticed. According to HAMDALLAH MASTOWFI "The plains or meadows of *Cálán* are near the grave of the mother of Solomon the prophet, on whom be the peace of God! they extend four farsangs in length but are of inconsiderable breadth. The tomb of Solomon's mother is a square house or chamber, constructed of stone. The *Fárs Náméh*(10) or "History of *Fárs*," declares that no person can enter this edifice or look into it, from the apprehension of being punished with blindness; but I never discovered

(9) Viddi non lontano dà Persepoli quella fabrica horrenda chiamata sepolcro;" in his French column, "un superbe monument." (Gazoph. Pers. p. 365).

(10) Composed by EBN AL BALKHI KHA'N (ابن البلخي خان) about the beginning of the twelfth century: a work so extremely rare in Persia that my endeavours to procure a copy were unsuccessful.

"that any one had ventured to make the experiment or as-
"certained the fact"(11).

HA'FIZ ABRU' in his "Chronicle" describes the *marghzár* or meadows of *Cálán* as being "near the *meshehd* of the "mother of Solomon, on whom be the blessing of God! The "length of that plain is four farsangs, but its breadth is "trifling; and the *meshehd* of Solomon's mother (on whom "be peace!) is a house built of stone, and in that place "stones of immense size and very handsomely cut have "been employed"(12). The same writer, having described the *Takht i Jemshíd*, adds this passage: "and there is likewise "another place in the *Kúreh* or district of *Istakhr*, on the "road to *Aberkúh*, entitled the *Meshehd i Máder i Suleimán*, "or Tomb of the Mother of Solomon, on whom be peace! "Here, also, are stones of considerable size and sculptured "in a wonderful manner; the work, as it is related, of those

(11) مرغزار کالان بجوار کور مادر سلیمان پیغمبر علیه السلام افتاده است طولش چهار فرسنک اما عرض کم دارد و قبر مادر سلیمان عم از سنک کرده اند خانه چهارسوست در فارس نامه آمده است که کسي ان خانه را نتواند نکرید یا در ان رفت از حوف کور شدن اما ندیدیم که کسي ازمون کرده باشد (MS. *Nuzhat al Culúb*, ch. 12). The compound word *margh zár* signifies pasture-land yielding abundantly the verdant herbage called *margh* (مرغ accented with *fatteh*); and has not any reference to the word *murgh* or *moorgh* (مرغ accented with *damm*), which would signify "a bird."

(12) مرغزار کالان نزدیک مشهد مادر سلیمان عم طول ان چهار فرسنک اما عرض ندارد مکر اندکي و مشهد مادر سلیمان عم خانه ایست از سنکهاي عظمت بکار برده اند و سنک تراشیهاي خوب کرده (MS. *Tárikh Háfiz Abrú*).

"*Jins* (the "Genii" or spirits) who were subservient to "Solomon, on whom be peace!"(13)

These like the extracts above given from European travellers relate principally to the tomb; but yield no indication of that city which, as the ruins of palaces, temples or other edifices still remaining authorize us to believe, once covered a great portion of the adjoining plain; yet we may reasonably suppose that in the fifteenth century when Joseph Barbaro visited this spot; and still more, in the fourteenth when HAMDALLÁH described it, numerous vestiges of buildings, sculptured figures and inscriptions were visible which have since disappeared, though superstition has saved the tomb from delapidation.

I shall close the account of this place with a few observations on the remarkable objects that it offered to my view.

I. The *Takht* or *Throne* (Pl. XLIX. 1, 2, 3), I conceive to have been the foundation of a palace, because it resembles the substructure of many Persian edifices some of which were probably the abodes of kings in former ages, as others at present are the royal mansions. Thus the *Takht-i-Jemshíd*

(13) و موضعي ديكر هم از كوره اصطخر هست بر راه ابرقوه كه بمشهد مادر سليمان عم معروفست آنجا نيز سنكهاي بعظمت و سنك تراشيدهاي عجيبت است و مشهور چنانست كه جنيان كه مسخر سليمان عم بوده اند ان از اعمال ايشان است (MS. *Tárikh Háfiz Abrú*).

(JEMSHI'D's Throne) at Persepolis, is founded on a terrace of huge cut stones projecting from the bottom of a mountain into the plain; and thus the modern palace called *Takht-i-Kajár* near *Shíráz*, is raised on a similar basis. This national style also, may be discovered in the *Saadetabád* and *Chehil Sutún* at *Ispahán;* in the *Takht* or *Kasr-i-Kajár* near *Tehrán* and several others. What kind of superstructure rested on the *Takht-i-Suleimán* it is now, I fear, impossible to ascertain. The terrace may have supported a wooden fabrick, or a pavilion capable of containing the king sitting in state upon his royal throne, which, there is reason to imagine, was in times most remote, as now, one of the richest attributes of Eastern sovereignty. From such a situation the Monarch would be conspicuous to multitudes of vassals and troops assembled on the subjacent plain, to behold his splendour during the day of *Naurúz* or other ancient festivals. The "Throne" has probably in many places, imparted its name to the terrace or spot on which it usually stood.

II. The edifice called by my rustick guides the *Zindán* or "Prison" of Solomon, (See Plate L) resembled so perfectly that at *Naksh-i-Rustám* before described that each seemed erected for the same purpose (whatever it may have been) and about the same period.

III. The single pilaster, (Pl. XLIX. 4) with the inscription in Persepolitan letters, apparently formed part of an extensive range.

IV. The *Díván Kháneh* (Pl. LII) was probably one extremity of that magnificent edifice to which belonged the pilaster mentioned in the preceding article. This may be inferred from the sameness of proportions, architectural style, and inscriptions; and we may suppose, from the fragments scattered in the intermediate space, that its distant parts were connected by pilasters, walls, and columns.

V. The *Caravánserá* although now fallen into decay, was a commodious and handsome building of its kind. I suspect that the more ancient ruins have contributed materials towards its construction. It is, perhaps between four and six hundred years old; but the date might probably be ascertained from the Arabick inscription on the gateway, which I had not leisure to copy.

We learn from Manuscripts already quoted that this tomb is not ascribed by the Persians, to any modern female; they suppose that it contained the body of Bathsheba, who was called, as Muhammedan traditions relate, DHA'IEGH or SA'IEGH (ضايغ or صايغ) the wife of Uriah, and mother of Solomon, whose story, much corrupted from the Hebrew Scripture, is given by TABRI. But Mandelslo heard from the Italian Carmelites at *Shirâz* that it belonged to WALLADA the mother of an Arabian *Khalifah* named SULEIMA'N (on whom he bestows, incorrectly, the Persian title *Sháh*); and he refers to the words of ELMAKI'N, as his authority for her

name and the year when her son began to reign(14). I have examined the original Arabick text of this writer and find the quotation sufficiently exact; but from a preceding passage it appears that she was mother also of the *Khalifah* WALI'D or VALI'D (وليد); and we are not authorised by any circumstance in the history of those two Monarchs to suppose the monument a work of either; or that the body of WALA'DAH, living or dead, had ever been transported from *Cúfah* or Damascus into the heart of Persia. To me it seems highly doubtful whether any of her children (for she had four) constructed this *Meshehd* in a spot most probably not consecrated during their age by the vicinity of any *Muselmán* temple(15).

But in the records of succeeding times other personages occur bearing the name of SULEIMA'N, to whom, as Persians, the title *Sháh* would be more applicable than to an Arabian *Khalifah* or *Amír*. Yet a writer no less distinguished for

(14) The year 715 of our era. See Mandelslo, in the English translation of his Travels by Davies, p. 4.

(15) WALA'DAH (ولادة) is first mentioned by ELMAKI'N (المكين) in the thirteenth chapter of his *Tárikh al muslemín* (تاريخ المسلمين) of which the Arabick text, without any translation, was printed at Leyden in a small, but thick, duodecimo volume, in 1625; when also was published in the same city, Erpenius's latin translation of it, under the title of "Historia Saracenica," (4 to). She is again mentioned in the next chapter as mother of SULEIMA'N (سليمان) the fourteenth *Khalifah* (خليفة) who died in the ninety ninth year of the *Hejrah* (of Christ 717), at a place belonging to the territory of *Kineserín* (من ارض قنسرين) in *Shám* (شام) or Syria. From the historian KHONDEMI'R, and others, I learn that WALA'DAH was the mother of three sons, and one daughter.

historical than for geographical excellence, HAMDALLAH MASTOWFI, could scarcely have been ignorant of its real founder had the annals which he examined, or inscriptions on the tomb, or on the adjoining *Caravanserá*, assigned its construction to any of those chiefs or princes who flourished in an age not long preceding his own. Still we find that he adopts the vague popular tradition which, in ascribing this monument to Bathsheba, plainly acknowledges that its true origin is unknown. This, however, does not much surprize me, so readily do the gravest Oriental writers admit into their works the most improbable accounts; but it seems strange that he makes no observations on those ruins which cover in many places the adjoining plain, where, when he wrote (near five hundred years ago), others, not visible at present, were probably standing.

Although desirous of giving to future travellers whatever advantages can be derived from my inquiries, I reserve for another occasion, one conjecture on this subject, to which some readers may think, perhaps, too many pages have already been devoted. It was not possible within an hour, to examine perfectly all the remains scattered at various intervals. An antiquary might here expect much gratification; and those who shall hereafter view those monuments at leisure will prove, as I have reason to believe, that more has not been said of them than they deserve. The adjacent mountains claim particular attention, and the trouble of exploring their

recesses would probably be requited by very interesting discoveries(16).

Leaving these for some more fortunate inquirers, Colonel D'Arcy and I proceeded across the plain where many *Iliáts* had assembled; among them were several women; two of whom wore silver coins strung in rows about their heads; these appeared to be the principal ladies of the *ordú* or camp; one was old, the other young and comely. Hoping for an opportunity of examining the medals without seeming impertinently curious, I entered into conversation with those ornamented females whilst they very hospitably provided for us some excellent *mást*, or coagulated milk; but of the coins none were ancient; a few bore legends in *Cúfi*, the others in modern Persian characters. We hastened to join our friends and arrived soon after them at *Murgháb* (مرغاب), a large and pleasant village, distant from the ruins about five miles, and from the last *manzel* near *Kemín*, eighteen. We this day enjoyed that rare phænomenon a shower of rain; and a messenger arrived with a most gracious letter from the king to the ambassador.

(16) From the following passage of Mr. Hoeck's work we learn that the ingenious Grotefend regards the *Mader i Suleimán* as Pasargadæ, and the square house or chamber as the tomb of Cyrus; but Mr. Hoeck himself has not adopted this opinion; to him the square edifice appears a sepulchral monument erected in the Sassanian age. "Probare studet cl. Grotefendus, rudera illa veterum esse Pasargadarum, "ædificium vero illud singularis structuræ Cyri sepulcrum. Non idem mihi persua-"sum habeo—Sepulcrum habeo e Sassanidarum tempore; huic ævo convenit ædicu-"læ structura," &c. (Veteris Mediæ et Persiæ Monumenta, pp. 56, 62).

At one o'clock on the morning of the seventeenth we left *Murghâb*, and did not reach *Gházián* (غازيان vulgarly called *Gázioon* or *Kázioon*) until nine, although the distance was but twenty miles; the road being extremely bad, with three rough *kutels* or mountain-passes. At twelve or thirteen miles we crossed the river *Beni Arús* (بني عروس), and near *Gházián* we saw the remains of a mud-built castle, not worthy even of a sketch, although the country people here declared that these were vestiges of BAHRA'M GU'R's "Red Tower," the *Gumbed i Surkh* (گنبد سرخ) or *Yákúti* (ياقوتي); and consequently that the ruins near *Kemín*, already mentioned, had no pretensions to that title. Many parts of this country appear to have been the scenes of that monarch's pleasures. In the neighbourhood of *Aşepás* (اسپاس) is seen his *Kiúshk i zard* (کوشک زرد) or "Yellow Villa;" as several persons informed me, and I have before noticed (p. 225) his "Green Tower" between *Shiráz* and *Zarkán*. We found that several inhabitants of *Gházián*, a populous village, had died within three or four days of putrid sore-throats; many, both men and women, suffering from considerable tumours were brought to Mr. Sharp the surgeon, who administered medicines but thought it scarcely possible that they could recover. The Thermometer here was up to 96 in the shade, at two o'clock afternoon; the ground all about this place seemed covered with wild thyme, licorice and the asafœtida plant.

We began to march very early on the eighteenth, and having advanced fifteen miles halted at *Delunasr* (دلو نصر), or,

as it is commonly called, *Delinazar;* about half-way between this village and *Gházián*, we passed the mud-built houses of *Kishlák* (قشلاق) leaving it on the right; many of those habitations looked like subterraneous holes at the foot of a mountain. Near *Delinazar* was a stone gate-way, part of some mean and I believe modern edifice, which the peasants assured me was one, two, or perhaps three thousand years old; here we found the water clear and good; the Thermometer at two and three o'clock was not higher than 93. This day an alarm reached us respecting the *Bakhtiáris* (بختیاري) of *Luristán* (لرستان); a very turbulent race, who were said to be in a state of insurrection; to have committed many robberies and murders on the road; and threatened to intercept us, or at least to carry off our baggage. It was also rumoured that five hundred horsemen had been detached from *Ispahán* by the *Amín ad'douleh* to attack those *Bakhtiáris*, and even that a battle had been fought in which several men were killed on both sides. Whatever foundation may have been for these reports, the *Mehmándár* Mí'rza Zeki, judged it expedient to appoint a body of soldiers, some armed with muskets, (chiefly matchlocks) others with spears and swords, as a guard for the loaded mules; and when our trumpets sounded at eleven o'clock this night we prepared to march, and, an hour after, set out from *Delinazar*(17).

(17) A fine young horse of Arabian breed which Mr. Gordon had brought from *Shúshter*, died this day; and his death was attributed to some poisonous herb, probably

On the nineteenth at ten in the morning, we halted at *Eklíd* (اقليد) after a very fatiguing journey of twenty-eight miles, according to the perambulator. Our road, during the last three hours, lay between immense mountains of granite and marble, through a fine plain which approaches *Eklíd;* one of the most flourishing villages that we had hitherto seen, with extensive gardens, handsome trees, and delightful streams of admirable water. Women also, seemed to abound here, better dressed than is usual in other places; few of them however were pretty. The ambassador was received by an *Istikbál* very respectable; but not so numerous as might have been expected from a place which, with its ten or eleven dependent territories, contained, as it was said, above two thousand families or houses. Of those territories *Surmek* or *Surmeh* is the principal, and has long been associated with *Eklíd* in books of Geography. The name of this village or town (which has a mosque, a *Caravanserái* and publick baths), is often corruptly written and pronounced *Kelíl;* but Ebn Haukal, near nine hundred years ago, ascertained its ortho-

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the *oushán* or *úshán*, (I write the name merely from its sound); for Mr. Bruce informed me at *Búshehr* that two horses belonging to a friend had been destroyed by this herb a short time before in the vicinity of *Ispahán*. That excellent work the MS. *Rauzát dl Jenát* (روضات الجنات) or "Gardens of Paradise," (which is, in simple language, the history of *Herát*) mentions a plain near *Mahmúd ábád* (محمود اباد) not far from *Tabríz*, "where the herbage was poisonous, so that all quadrupeds that ate of it died; "the water also of that place was not good" (*Rauzet* or Section 21).

كه علف او زهركياه بود و هر چهاريا كه ميخوردد مي مرد و اب او نيز نيك نبود

This History of *Herát* was composed A. H. 897, (A. D. 1491).

grapy(18). The MS. *Súr al beldán* enumerates among the chief towns of *Párs*, "*Eklíd* and *Surmek*;" and in the same class *Eklíd* is ranked by the Arabian (or Nubian) geographer AL EDRISI, (Clim. III. Sect. 6). The Persian writer so often quoted, HAMDALLAH, describes it in the same passage with *Surmek* and *Arján* (ارجان), one of its territories. "*Eklíd*" says he, "is a small city having a castle; its climate is "temperate and it is watered by running streams; it produces "fruits of every kind, and supplies all the neighbouring "country with corn. *Surmek* also is a small town and "resembles *Eklíd* in every respect. The apricots of *Surmek* "are exceedingly sweet and good, and when dried are sent "in great quantities to various places; many districts depend "on *Eklíd* and *Surmek*"(19). For this name, but spelt after

(18) "*Eklíd* (اقليد) and *Surmek* (سرمق) are two towns which in Persian are written *Kelíd* (كليد) and *Surmeh* (سرمه)." Orient. Geogr. p. 86. I heard *Eklíd* styled by some of the inhabitants *Kelíl i Surmeh*.

(19) اقليد شهري كوچكست و حصاري دارد و هوايش معتدلست و اب روان دارد و در ان از همه نوع ميوه بود و غله ان بوم از همانجا شود و سرمق هم شهري كوچكست و در همه حال مانند اقليد اما زردالوي سرمق نيكو اید و شيرين و خشك كرده بسيار بولايت برند و مواضع بسيار از اقليد و سرمق است (*Nuz. Culúb.* ch. 12). Each dependent district, as I heard, has a mud-walled fort and a village. The castle of *Surmek* in A. H. 795 (A. D. 1393) was occupied by the troops of SHA'H MANSU'R (شاه منصور), whilst that barbarian conqueror TAIMU'R invaded *Párs*, as we learn from SHERIF AD'DI'N ALI, who mentions also the neighbouring village *Deyh i Bíd*, as it is now called, and as that historian wrote (according to my two Manuscript copies of his work), although Petis de la Croix in his translation has omitted the first word *Deyh*, "a village," which is essential in the name, as signifying "the "Village of Willows;" لشكر كشيد بر قلعه ديه بيد و قلعه سرمق و حصار مروست "He led forth his troops to the castle of *Deyh i Bíd*, and the castle of *Surmek*, and

the Persian manner *Surmeh*, a derivation may be found in the Dictionary *Burhán Kátea*(20).

The horses, mules, and Indian *palankín*-bearers, were much fatigued by the journey of this day, and it was judged necessary to allow them some repose. We therefore remained at *Eklíd* during the twentieth; the morning and evening of which proved so cool as to render great-coats and additional bed-clothes desirable; although at three o'clock the Thermometer rose to 94. Here it was discovered that our *Mehmándár*, Mi'rza Zeki, a man in repute among the Persians for probity, and, as I before mentioned, one of the principal ministers, had demanded from the villagers on pretence of *siúrsát* or allowance for the embassy, seven hundred *mans* of barley, whilst three hundred were sufficient; ninety fowls

"the fortress of *Merúset*," (MS. *Zaffer Námeh* or "History of Taimûr," Book III. ch. 23). Yet few translations have been ever executed with such fidelity, judgment and ingenuity as that accomplished Frenchman's.

(20) سرمه—چيزي باشد كه در چشم كشند و نام قريه هم هست از قراي فارس كه در ان سرمه خيزد "*Surmeh* signifies that substance which is applied (as a collyrium) to the eyes; and it is also the name of a town or district of *Fárs*, which produces that substance." Of this and of other cosmeticks, it would appear that the use has long been common to the Persians and distant nations; speaking of the Greek ladies Mr. Haygarth says "Their eye-brows are formed into regular lines with great care, so as to appear, in the language of Anacreon, "neither joined nor separated." "The eye-lids are tinged with a dark tint called *σύρμε*; the nails of their fingers and even of their toes are tinged with a dye brought from Egypt and called *κινά*." (Notes to the Poem of "Greece," p. 197). On the *surmeh* (سرمه) and *hinná* (حنا) used in exactly the same manner by Persian ladies, I shall have occasion to offer some remarks in another place. The Hebrew scriptures and Egyptian mummies sufficiently prove the antiquity of such cosmeticks.

instead of twenty, and every other article according to the same system, commuting the surplus for money; yet such is the general practice of this country.

Observing my baggage lying on the ground and exposed at noon to the sun, which at *Shíráz* had already split several boxes, I enquired why the muleteer had neglected to place it in a shade, or cover the packages, as usual, with *nameds* (نمد or pieces of felt); it appeared that he was scarcely able to move, having just received a very severe beating from the *feráshes* or meanest servants belonging to the *Mehmándár*, and, as several witnesses assured me, without the smallest provocation. I instantly applied for redress to the ambassador, who informed MI'RZA ZEKI of the outrage and of my complaint. Shortly after, a fat and stupid-looking fellow, who, as I understood was the travelling chaplain or *ákhún* (اخون) of our *Mehmándár*, came with several people to my tent that he might examine the witnesses; a long string of beads made of the *Khak-i-Karbelái* (خاک کربلاي), or holy clay out of ALI's tomb at *Karbelá*, dangled from his hands(21). But before the grievance was half-stated, he interrupted the speakers; swore they were all liars, and employed so many opprobrious terms

(21) Of such beads many thousand strings are annually sold in the *bázárs* of every Persian town to true believers of the *Shiah* sect, who hold in veneration the memory of ALI. I purchased some at *Shíráz;* the clay, at least in its baked state, appears of a dark greenish brown, sometimes inclining to yellow; the beads are of various sizes, but seldom exceed in bulk a common pea For the use of beads among the *Muselmáns*, and the idolaters of India, see Moor's "Hindù Pantheon."

against the unfortunate muleteer, (whom he seemed also much inclined to strike) that I could no longer observe the common rules of politeness, but pushed him rather precipitately out of my tent. Finding after various messages that I persevered in demanding justice, MI'RZA ZEKI, at last, inquired into the matter himself; and having ascertained how many times his *feráshes* had struck the muleteer, he placed a cudgel in the plaintiff's hands, and authorized him to inflict five blows for every one that he had received. But this the poor man declined; unwilling to offend the *Mehmándár*, and dreading the future vengeance of his servants.

In the evening we rode about three miles from *Eklíd* to a place beautifully situate among trees, where we saw a stream of most pure and excellent water, full of fish; and its source called the *Chashmeh-i-Peighamber* (چشمه پیغمبر) or "Prophet's Fountain;" which is said to have started from the rock by command of MUHAMMED, in a manner truly miraculous, as he was never at this spot. To those, however, who appear incredulous, some marks impressed on a stone by the prophet's hand or foot, are exhibited as convincing proofs. We began our march soon after midnight and reached *Abádah* (ابادہ) at seven o'clock on the morning of the twenty-first; the road was good; the distance from *Eklíd* eighteen miles and a half([22]).

([22]) Those who conducted the wheel or perambulator, having, through some mistake of the guide, proceeded by a circuitous path, described the distance as twenty miles three furlongs. The Persians reckon it five farsangs.

Abádah must have once been a very considerable place; for several miles near it the plain is covered with walls and vestiges of gardens, and ruins of mud-built houses, now deserted. HAMDALLAH MASTOWFI includes it in the following description; "*Harír*, *Abádah* and *Sarúr* (or *Sarver*). *Harír* is a "small town, enjoying a temperate climate; it has running "streams and produces fruit abundantly. *Abádah* is likewise "a small town, possessing the same advantages with respect "to air, fruit, and running streams; it has also a strong "castle watered by the river *Kur*. This place is very fertile "in corn, and many important districts are attached to it; "the amount of revenue which it annually pays is twenty "five thousand five hundred *dinárs*"(23). Here we met a Tartar, (or correctly *Tátár* تاتار) courier bringing dispatches to the ambassador; he had passed but seventeen days on his journey between Constantinople and *Tabríz*. By him we received English and French news-papers; and, what afforded much greater delight, the first letters from our friends after a separation of above twelve months. The Thermometer rose to 97 at four o'clock this day.

(23) حریر و اباده و مرور حریر شهری کوچکست و هوای معتدل و اب روان و میوه بسیار دارد اباده هم شهری کوچکست و هوای معتدل و اب روان و میوه بسیار دارد و قلعه استواری و از رود کر اب در ان روانست و غله بسیار شرد و توابع بسیار مرتفع دارد و حقوق دیوانیش بیست و پنجهزار و پانصد دینارست

(MS. *Nozhat al Culúb*, ch. 12). Here we find mention of the river *Kur* (or *Band emir*); but when on the spot, I understood that *Abádah* was watered by the river *Palvár*; (See p. 326, 328). These streams are still destined to perplex us.

We left *Abádah* soon after two on the morning of the twenty-second, and halted at *Shulghestán* (شلغستان or شولگستان *Shúlgestán)* about eight o'clock; the distance twenty miles and a half; the road level and good, with barren insulated mountains rising abruptly from the plain on both sides; many of very extraordinary appearance as viewed from different points; one particularly, which in its outline resembled strongly the Rock of Gibraltar. I hastily sketched the outlines of three as we rode by. (See No. 22, in the Miscellaneous or last Plate of this Volume). *Shulghestán*, (which several of the common people miscalled *Shurghestoon)* was a small village, with inhabitants so miserably poor that they could not afford to maintain even one cow. Here, soon after noon, the Thermometer stood at 99.

On the twenty-third we set out early and arrived at *Yezdekhást* (یزدخواست) before eight o'clock in the morning; this was a stage of twenty miles, and three quarters; the road mostly good. A guard of Persian soldiers, fifty or sixty, accompanied us on the march, our *Mehmándár*, during the preceding night, having been alarmed by some intelligence which gave him reason to apprehend an attack from the *Bakhtiári* robbers. Our protectors were a motley crew; some on foot, several mounted on horses, mules and asses; they were scarcely uniform even in their arms, although all had muskets; but some were extremely short and others so long as to be unwieldy and inconvenient. It is probable, however, that those guards were at least equal to the expected enemy; a

party also, was sent to escort the baggage; and whilst we proceeded during the darkness of the morning, they kept alive each other's vigilance by incessantly calling and answering.

The *Vazír* or chief minister of the province, MUHAMMED NEBI KHA'N, of whom some unfavourable anecdotes have been related, arrived here on his way to *Shíráz*; he paid a ceremonious visit to the Ambassador and engaged him in conversation above two hours, being desirous of effacing the impression, which, as he justly feared, must have been made by the rumours circulated respecting him throughout the country; he was a person whose manners pleased even those acquainted with his real character. (See Vol. 1. p. 255. 277. 452). This day the *Mehmándár* received information that on the preceding night a body of *Bakhtiári* horsemen, fifty in number, had committed various depredations at some places on the road by which we were to proceed.

Of the extraordinary castle at *Yezdekhást* described by Chardin, Le Brun, and other travellers, the upper story only was visible, (yet seemed a perfect building) until we came close to the very ditch or narrow valley, into which having descended by a stony and winding path, we were much surprised to see a good *Caravanserái*, the lower part of the castle, a ruined town of mud-built houses, and our own tents pitched in a rugged spot between steep and lofty rocks,

But little water remained in the bed of the river; and that furnished for our use was exceedingly bad; most of the people had abandoned their habitations. The ditch or valley above-mentioned would certainly form a strong natural line of separation, and I find that Dr. Fryer and other travellers regard it as the boundary between *Párs* and *Irák*; but that the respective limits of these provinces have not been permanently ascertained, will appear in the course of a few pages(24). The bread of *Yezdekhást* has obtained even proverbial celebrity among the most excellent productions of Persia; these we often heard enumerated in words which Le Brun (Voyages, p. 255, Amst. 1718) has thus expressed:

"*Chiraup Zjieraas; noen Jesdegaes; sen de Jes.*"

or as I would write them in our characters, *Shráb e Shíráz; Nán e Yezdekhást; Zan e Yezd;* being in Persian,

شراب سیراز نان یزدخاست زن یزد

and signifying "wine of *Shíráz;* bread of *Yezdekhást;* women of *Yezd*(25).

For many days past we had been annoyed by whirlwinds, coming generally about noon in sudden gusts and often in

(24) "Beneath this, a small plain led us to the brink of a vast precipice, the utmost "limits of *Pharsestan*, or the old *Persian* realm; here a deep broad ditch, through "which a troubled muddy rivulet runs under a stone bridge, (the whole being not "broader than our *Thamesis*) parts this country from Parthia. We remained this "night on the Persian side," &c. (Travels, p. 257).

(25) Le Brun expresses by *noen* what properly is *nán* (نان "bread"), but by the southern Persians invariably pronounced like our English word "noon."

the direction of our tents; covering us with sand, of which they raised, to an astonishing elevation in the air, immense bodies like columns, moving in a partial line for several miles, or as long as the sight could follow them. Here we suffered much from one of peculiar violence. The Thermometer at two o'clock had risen to 99.

The Persian geographer HAMDALLAH, thus briefly describes *Yezdekhást* and the neighbouring *Deh i Girdú*. "They are two villages; and dependent on them are *Sardistán*, "*Amáreh* and some others, all belonging to the *Sardsír* or "cold region (of *Párs*); they abound with corn, but produce "no kind of fruit except nuts"([26]). It may be remarked that the name *Deh i Girdú*, here mentioned, signifies "the "Village of Walnuts;" yet with what justice this title was bestowed, appears to have been doubtful in the seventeenth century([27]).

Our march commenced on the twenty-fourth soon after one o'clock in the morning, and we reached the village of

([26]) یزدخواست و ده کرد و دو دیه اند و چند ده دیگر چون سردستاد و اماره و غیران از توابع ان و همه سردسیرست وغله بوم و جز جوز هیچ میوه ندارد (MS. *Nuz. Culúb.* ch. 12).

([27]) Thevenot observes that although called *Dehi ghirdou* or the "Village des noix," this place was not fertile in nuts; and he understood that those eaten there were brought from *Lár*; "car m'en etant informé j'ai appris que celle qu'on y mange "vient de Lar;" (Voyages, Tome iv. p. 423, Amst. 1727). "We kept on," says Dr. Fryer, "to *Degurdu*," signifying the Walnut Town, where grew never an one," (Travels, p. 256). Yet Della Valle mentions "la molta quantita delle noci," (Lett. 15); and I heard that nuts grew here.

Maksûd begi (مقسود بيكي) in seven hours; the distance from *Yezdekhást* being twenty three miles and a half; nearly intermediate between these places were the remains of a considerable town, called *Aminábád* (اميناباد), situate on the line now supposed to divide the province of *Párs* or Persis, from *Irák Ajemi*, Parthia or Media, according to the extended sense of this denomination, which appears in ancient times to have been restricted within more northern limits. And here began the jurisdiction of *Amin-ad-douleh* chief of the *Ispahán* government. We saw a few people in the mud-built castle, and some wretched families that seemed to occupy half-ruined hovels near the *Rebát* (رباط) or *Caravanserái Mader-i-Sháh* (كاروانسرا مادر شاه) so denominated from its founder, the mother of SHA'H ABBA'S.

We had not been long encamped at *Maksúdbegi* before a young man of very excellent character, named Stewart, one of the horse-artillery corps, died after an illness of three or four days; during the last stage he had been carried in his mattress suspended from mens shoulders by means of a pole. On the road near this place the ambassador's English groom could scarcely be prevented from horse-whipping some bigotted Persians whom he overheard applying contemptuously to the poor fellow when almost in the agonies of death, that insulting expression, *Sag-i-Frangki* (سگ فرنگي) "European (or Christian) Dog." The body, wrapped in a blanket, was interred at the foot of a mountain about half a mile from the

camp, and a mile north-eastward of the village; all the gentlemen attending whilst the ambassador read the funeral service. Stewart's comrades had made the grave exceedingly deep; not only apprehending that jackals might devour the body, but that the Persians entertained some intention of digging it up; a suspicion excited (I believe unjustly) by the hints of an Armenian. This day at two o'clock, the Thermometer was up to 100.

On the twenty-fifth we proceeded early in the morning to *Kúmesheh* (قومشه or, as the name is frequently written, *Kumsheh* قمشه), distant from *Maksúdbegi* fifteen miles and three quarters; the road was good, and exhibited numerous villages, some however, in a state of ruin. We also observed many extensive corn-fields. Near the town we met ABU''L HASSAN KHA'N (who had been for some weeks at *Ispahán*) and Mr. Cormick, attached as Surgeon to the late (and present) embassy; they returned with us to our tents pitched close under the walls of *Kúmesheh*. Here the Thermometer rose to 106 at two o'clock. We halted on the twenty-sixth in consequence of the excessive heat which began to affect several Europeans. At noon the Thermometer was up to 105; an hour after it rose to 108; and before three o'clock it stood in the shade at 110. At this time a flight of locusts appeared, a phœnomenon seldom witnessed so far northward of *Shíráz*. We now found that MI'RZA ZEKI after some conversation with the ambassador had become very moderate;

in his demands of barley, fowls, lambs, and other articles of *siúrsát* or allowance, not requiring much more than was necessary; and he caused two inhabitants of the town to be bastinadoed for striking a servant belonging to our party.

Kúmesheh is large, but the greater portion of it appeared to me a scene of desolation; MI'RZA JA'N, however, who passed a day here during this month, represents it in his MS. Journal "as being still a considerable place which in former "ages bore the rank of a city; and at present, "says he," "it has shops and *bázárs*, or markets, schools or colleges, "*caravánseráis*, mosques and baths; but it wants running "water; extensive ruins still remain here, and this town once "possessed many gardens which are now in a state of de-"cay"([28]). It seems from the *Nuzhat al Colúb* to have been considered, in the fourteenth century, as appertaining to *Párs;* for it is enumerated among the places of this province. "*Kúmesheh*" we read, "was formerly reckoned part of *Iráh;* and it is "situate on the boundary between *Iráh* and *Fárs*"([29]). This position, however is now assigned to *Amínábád* as I have

([28]) قمشه—جایست بسیار بزرگ که قبل ازین شهري بوده است و حال دکان و بازار و مدرسه و کاروانسرا و مسجد و حمام دارد و اب جاري ندارد و خرابي بسیار دارد و باغستان بسیار داشته است و حال خراب هست

([29]) قومشه درما قبل انرا از ملک عراق شمرده اند و سرحد عراق و فارس است (MS. *Nuzhat al Colúb.* ch. 12). In 1621 Della Valle described *Comscè* as "una Villa grossa," (Lett. 15); in 1674 Chardin found *Comicha* rather like a village than a town, thoughin circumference exceeding three miles, (Tome ix. p. 22).

already mentioned; therefore the frontier line must be removed twenty-five or twenty-six miles towards the south.

We marched from *Kúmesheh* early on the morning of the twenty-seventh, and arrived at *Mahyár* (مهیار) in about six hours; the distance, according to modern computation, being five farsangs; and by the wheel or perambulator nineteen miles; HAMDALLAH estimates it at six farsangs in the passage below quoted(30). Our camp was situate close to the handsome *Caravanserá*, erected, like other publick edifices on this road, by the munificent mother of SHA'H ABBA's. The water here was very bad; a sufficient supply in *rabias* or large skins loading four horses had fortunately been provided at *Kúmesheh*, between which and this place we did not see any wells, streams, houses, trees, nor human creatures. The plain was studded with many insulated rocks or small mountains of conical or pyramidical shapes, and some resembling those which I before observed on the road between

(30) از اصفهان تا ده اصفهانک سه فرسنک از ان تا ده مهیار که سر حد فارس است پنج فرسنک از ان تا شهر قومشه شش فرسنک "From *Isfahán* to the "village of *Isfahánek*, three farsangs; from that to the village of *Mahyár* which "bounds the province of *Fárs*, five farsangs; thence to the city of *Kúmesheh*, six "farsangs." (MS. *Nuzhat al Culúb;* Append. chapter of Roads and Stages). Here *Fárs* is advanced five or six farsangs northward of the limits above assigned by the same author. I shall have occasion in a future work to examine on this subject the authorities of Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny and other classical writers; and the excellent maps of de la Rochette, 1793; of Rennell (in his Geography of Herodotus, 1800); and of Barbié du Bocage, who has so ably illustrated Alexander's marches, in the Appendix to Sainte. Croix's "Examen Critique," (1804).

Shulghestán and *Abádah*. Another of the artillery-men this day became dangerously ill. The Thermometer in the shade, at one o'clock was up to 104.

Here we were treated with a sumptuous dinner sent to the ambassador; it consisted of numerous dishes admirably dressed in the Persian style of cookery; with a great quantity of the finest fruit; grapes both red and green; apricots, apples, musk and sweet melons (*Kharbuzeh* خربزه), and water melons (*Hinduáneh* هندوانه generally pronounced *Hindooneh*), besides snow and ice in great abundance for cooling wine or sherbet.

About midnight we left *Mahyár* and reached *Isfahánek* (اسفهانک) on the twenty-eighth, having travelled in eight hours twenty-three miles and above three furlongs as the perambulator went; but most of our party turned a little off the road to avoid some bad mountain passes on the *Kutel Urchíni* (کتل ارچيني respecting which I shall offer an observation in the Appendix), and prolonged the journey to about five and twenty miles. By order of the *Amín ad'douleh*, a most spacious and magnificent tent had been pitched for the ambassador's accommodation; and a plentiful breakfast provided, with sweetmeats, fowls and *pilaws* of various kinds. Near this place we saw the ruins of a castle said to have been constructed by the ancient *Gabrs*, or Fire-worshippers; and many cotton plantations, gardens, and villages, indicating the vicinity of a great capital. The very

name of this village (*Isfahánek*) is a diminutive and may be translated "*Little Isfahán*"(31).

Next morning (the twenty-ninth) as we approached the city, a painter whom I had known at *Shíráz*, joined the crowd of our attendants and indicated to me a mountain from which, as tradition relates, DA'RA' or Darius beheld his Persian troops defeated by the Greeks under Alexander. To my inquiries respecting any vestiges of this conqueror, the *Shírázi* replied that he had seen at *Yezd* (یزد) a ruined edifice called the *Zindán i Secander* (زندان سکندر) or "Alexander's Prison;" that there was a deep recess or hollow among some rocks bearing the same name, within seven or eight miles of *Shíráz* near the sculptured rock or *Kademgáh* (described in pages 46, 50); also that five or six farsangs eastward of *Tabríz* there was an immense cavern, supposed to have been excavated by order of Alexander after whom it was denominated *Iscandríah*

(31) In Chardin's time it extended above a mile; "un village nommé *Spahánek* ou "le *petit Ispahán*, a cause de sa grandeur qui est de plus d'un mille d'etendue,"(Tome ix. p. 19). HAMDALLAH, as we have seen, (p. 455, note 30) places *Isfahánek* at three farsangs from *Isfahán;* and he states the distance between this capital and *Shíráz*, at seventy farsangs; his route being from *Isfahán* to *Isfahánek* 3 fars. thence to *Mahyár* 5; to *Kúmesheh* 6; to *Rúdegán* (رودکان) 5; to *Yezdekhást*, 7; to *Deh i girdú* 8; to *Kiúshk i Zerd* 7; to the *Rebát i Saláh addín* (رباط صلاح الدین) 5; to the *Rebát i pul i Shahryár* (رباط پل شهریار) 3; to *Máyín* 7; to the *Pul i naw* (پل نو) 4; to *Deh i gurg* (ده گرگ) 5; thence to *Shíráz* 5 farsangs. The sum of our march from the camp near *Shíráz* to the palace of *Saadetábád* near *Isfahán*, may be stated at two hundred and forty seven miles. HAMDALLAH's stages, as above given, from *Yezdekhást* to *Shíráz*, he styles the *terík al seifieh* (طریق الصیفیه) or "Summer route."

(اسکندریه); the air of this cavern, he added, was noxious and destroyed all creatures that inhaled it; a circumstance founded in fact, as will appear from an article of the Appendix; but my curiosity was particularly excited respecting a wonderful *Tárikh* (تاریخ) or "History" of Alexander, which the painter described as a most ancient and valuable manuscript in several large volumes, belonging to one of his friends, at *Isfahán*.

A very numerous and brilliant cavalcade, and many thousands of persons on foot, with the Governor, chief magistrates, merchants and all the principal inhabitants, came out from *Isfahán* to receive and welcome the Ambassador; and after a ride of nearly eight miles, we concluded our journey at the Royal Palace and Gardens of *Saadetábád* (سعادتابادِ) or the "Mansion of Felicity."

Drawn on the spot, by Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart.

H. Mutlow Sculp.

Iskandriah.

APPENDIX

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

No I.

Cave of Iscandríah.

THOUGH according to the usual order of reference, a subject only mentioned near the close of a volume (see page 457) cannot claim very early notice among the articles of an Appendix; yet so seldom has this work offered any gratification to lovers of Mineralogy, Botany, and the kindred sciences, (of which my own ignorance has been acknowledged and lamented), that I gladly assign the first place here to some pages describing, what did not lie within the range of my observation, a natural curiosity, the cave of *Iscandríah* (اسکندریہ) or Persian *Grotta del cane.* These pages and the drawing, from which Plate LIV has been engraved, were communicated by Sir Gore Ouseley; and

many readers will probably regret, with me, that his extreme reluctance to appear before the publick as an author, still witholds much interesting and original information on various subjects.

Extract from Sir Gore Ouseley's Journal.

"Tuesday, May 17th, 1814. In my route this morning from *Oujún* towards *Tabríz* I conceived a wish to visit the cave of *Iscandríah*, and to compare the effects of its mephitic vapours with the following description given of them by the celebrated Persian historian MI'R KHA'ND SHA'H, in the eighth volume of his *Rozat us safá*,

در بعضي از اعمال ادربايجان چاهي و يا غاري است درميان دو کوه و از ان چاه دودي متصاعد ميشود و هر پرنده که از بالاي چاه بگذرد از حرارت دخان کردد

"In one of the dependencies of *Aderbaijún* (Atropateia) "there is a pit or cavern situated between two mountains, "and from that cave a vapour ascends which destroys all "birds that attempt to fly over it;" exactly like that described in the 6th Æneid of Virgil;

"Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu,
"Scrupea——————————————
"Quam super haud ullæ poterant impune volantes
"Tendere iter pennis;

I therefore altered my route to *Tabríz*, and instead of passing through *Saadabád*, turned off to the right nearly opposite that village by an immense chasm in the mountain called *Shibili*, which appears in this place to have been rent asunder by

some tremendous convulsion of earthquake or flood, but more probably the former. After winding through this terrific chasm for about the distance of two miles, we suddenly opened upon the small and prettily situated village of *Iscandríah.* Wild herbs and a profusion of flowers cover the fields around it; of these we recognised camomile, origanum, anagyris fœtida, marjoram, hare-hound, lark-spur, a variety of small single pinks totally odourless, and mignonette of the same description.

Before we reached the mountain of *Shibili*, I visited the curious village of *Mánab* on our left, which after the lapse of a century has lately been re-inhabited and given to my present *Mehmandár*, YUSEF KHA'N, in fief, by His Royal Highness, ABBA's M'IRZA. It seems to have been a Troglodyte hamlet, and the new tenants had only to transport their small stock of furniture, to be completely settled in their habitations without any repairs. In all, there are about one hundred houses or rather excavations in the side of the mountain; one façade sufficing for the entrance to four or five different tenements, which branch off from it. A chimney in each room serves a triple purpose, according to the season; of emitting smoke, and of admitting air and day-light; but of the latter the tenants of these subterraneous abodes enjoy but a small share. In other respects the dwellings are comfortable enough, being more cool in summer and warmer in winter than the ordinary houses of Persia. I

could not discover any inscription whatever to lead even to conjecture upon the age or the construction of this extraordinary village. Tradition is also silent on the subject; but the very absence of all information, with respect to its origin, in my opinion removes all doubt of its great antiquity.

After an early dinner I proceeded to the cave of *Iscandriah*, accompanied by the gentlemen of my family; its situation is truly romantic; you approach it by a steep ascent through a fissure in the mountain about 25 to 30 yards wide, strewed with fragments of the rocks of which it is composed: chiefly a reddish breccia coloured with iron, here and there mixed with masses of schistus, and some black, red, and grey marble veined with white. The latter, where not much veined, resembles the marble on which the figures and inscriptions are sculptured at Persepolis. Of the above, the only substance made use of by the natives, is the red breccia or pudding-stone, of which we saw a number of mill-stones formed and forming. This breccia is composed of fragments of hard red jasper bedded in a red paste much softer than themselves, with the cavities and interstices filled with a white calx, giving it altogether the appearance of red marble spotted with white.

The cave faces nearly west, at an elevation of about 100 feet above the village of *Iscandriah*, and distant from it half a mile to the north-east. The situation and outward appearance are picturesque; but a gloomy stillness, and the absence

of every living creature, in the season of *Persian* spring, when the animal and vegetable worlds mark its extatic influence in glowing animation, and in a country where a genial heat calls almost the stones into existence, struck me with a painful sensation, and gave a deathlike mournfulness to the scene.

The first apartment is nearly 36 paces square; about the centre of its eastern side is a second portal of an irregular form, (bearing some marks of the chisel) nearly 25 feet high by 14 wide; beyond this the cave descends in a southern direction to a considerable distance and depth; but as the mephitic vapour within the portal immediately destroys animal life it is impossible to explore it;

"————facilis descensus Averni:

"————————————————————————

"Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
"Hoc opus, hic labor est."

The vapour seems to be carbonic acid gas. Whilst standing upright on the brink of the descent at the second portal, I felt little more than a disagreeable damp air; but on stooping as low as my middle to take up a fragment of the rock, my nose was assailed in a more violent and painful manner than the strongest volatile salts or eau de luce could have effected. However, the temperature of the atmosphere makes a sensible difference in the strength of the gas; for in cold weather one can penetrate much farther than in the heats of summer.

We found the body of a swallow which had just fallen a victim to its want of caution in skimming too near the ground close to, but outside, the second portal; and within it the ground was strewed with feathers, bones and carcasses of birds, beasts and reptiles, that had ventured too far in. The villagers, our guides, reported that whenever their sheep or oxen strayed into the cave for shelter from the weather, they invariably perished; and I should certainly have been satisfied of the truth of their assertions, without actual demonstration of the fatal effects of the mephitic vapour, had they not, before I was aware of it, tied a large fowl to a pole and lowered it a couple of feet below our own level, beyond a conical rock that is nearly in the centre of the second aperture or portal. In five or six seconds it appeared to droop without a struggle; it was then exposed to the fresh air, but after one faint effort to stir its wings, the poor thing ceased to breathe.

Tradition ascribes the construction of this cave to Alexander the Great, or Aristotle, his vizír, (as he is called in Persia) for the purpose of a treasury; and the villagers imagine that they could easily possess themselves of the riches it contains, were they masters of the talisman that guards it with these fatal vapours, &c. &c. The outward cavern has possibly been formed by a combination of nature and art; but the second, from the large fragments of rock scattered without, was probably burst open violently by the explosion of gas long pent up within it."

No. II.

Glories in Pictures.

ALTHOUGH it has been fancied that irradiations of divine light distinguished certain personages eminent in ancient history (See p. 16); yet modern Persian painters generally restrict the flattering attribute of a glory to those who, by the *Korân* or by Muhammedan tradition, have been invested with a sacred character. Thus in illuminated manuscripts of my collection, a blazing fire seems to emit golden rays of unequal height, from the head and shoulders of king Solomon, of the patriarch Joseph, and of the pseudo-prophet MUHAMMED. In Indian pictures, however, we find not only the imaginary forms of deities, but the actual portraits of living men, princes and reputed saints, decorated with circular glories, like those in our missals, and other works embellished by Christian artists; such as that ancient copy of the Greek Gospels, belonging to the imperial library of Vienna, No. CLIV. (See Nessel's "Catal. Bibl. Cæsar. Vindob," p. 231), which represents the four evangelists with glories; and a Greek MS. of the Royal Library at Paris, (No. 1878), executed in the tenth century, and described by Montfaucon, who has copied from it the figure of Isaiah; for the letters HCAIAC, placed over his glory, unequivocally indicate that prophet, and the original painting illustrates the "Canticum Hesaïæ, εκ νυκτος ορθριζει το πνευμα μου," (See Montf. Palæogr. Græc. p. 13). In a Latin MS. of which we cannot

ascribe the embellishments to any Christian hand, a similar glory encircles the head of Æneas; and other personages of the highest rank are so distinguished; I allude to that celebrated copy of Virgil's works, generally styled the "Codex Romanus," once preserved in the Vatican library of Rome, but now in the Bibliothéque du Roi at Paris; and supposed by many eminent antiquaries to be of the fourth, or even of the third century, as we learn from the "Histoire Chronologique de l'art du dessin" of M. Langlès, who has given an interesting account of this precious manuscript, and engravings made after some of the eighteen miniatures which contribute so highly to its value. A painting at Herculaneum, medals, vases, and other monuments of Roman and Grecian antiquity, exhibit the "nimbus," which denotes, according to Servius, that divine light represented in pictures as surrounding the heads of deities and of sovereigns(1). It has even been discovered among the Egyptians; but though many learned men have endeavoured to ascertain its origin, I cannot acknowledge myself wholly satisfied by the result of their labours; for this to substitute here my own crude conjectures would be presumptuous; reverting therefore to pictures executed since the introduction of Christianity, I

(1) Explaining a passage of Virgil, "nimbo effulgens" applied to the goddess Pallas (Æn. II, 616, Servius who in the fourth century illustrated that poet with an excellent commentary says "Nube divina; est enim fulgidum lumen quo deorum capita cin-"guntur; sic enim pingi solet;" and (ad v 590, "In nimbo qui cum numinibus "semper est;" also (Lib III, v. 586), "Proprie nimbus est qui deorum vel impe-"rantium capita quasi clara nebula ambire fingitur."

shall observe that our ingenious Forsyth, whom refined taste rendered fastidious on such subjects, would derive the glory from a Gothick source(2). To me it seems evident that by whomsoever they were first bestowed on the human figure, glories, whether circular, radiated or of any other form; whether the work of Persian *Muselmáns*, of Indian Idolaters, of modern or of early Christians, of Roman, Grecian or Egyptian artists, of whatever age; all may be traced to those ancient opinions which either confounded the sun with its creator, or, at least, taught men to regard the solar fire and light as immediate emanations and symbols of the divinity, "Jehovah, Jove or Lord." This might be proved by numerous Greek and Latin quotations; and the reader will recollect that sacred Scripture has, in figurative language, described God as a "devouring fire," (Exod. xxiv, 17); and a "consuming fire," (Deut. iv, 24); it relates that he descended "in fire" upon Mount Sinai (Exod. xix, 18); that his "glory" filled the tabernacle, and his "cloud" and "fire" rested upon it (Exod. xl, 34-38); that as a "pillar of fire" he conducted the Israelites (Ex. xiii, 21); and that "in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush," the angel of God,

(2) Having mentioned some fine paintings preserved in the Giustiniani Palace at Rome, he says, "Guido's Paul and Anthony is a noble picture disgraced by a "wretched glory. Glories broke into painting during the Gothic period of the "art, and still prevail over all its philosophy and improvement. Superstition knew "her right as a patroness, and dictated her own absurdities to the masters whom she "paid." (Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, during an excursion in Italy; p. 211, edit. of 1813).

or rather God himself, conversed with Moses (Ex. iii, 2, 4); whose face, after another interview with the Lord, became so luminous from reflected glory that Aaron and all the people "were afraid to come nigh him" (Ex. xxxiv, 29, 30, 35). On the authority of some versions I might add a passage from the Psalms declaring that God placed his tabernacle or habitation in the Sun(3). We read that among Egyptian hieroglyphicks the figure of a hawk served to express both God and the Sun(4); twelve golden rays encircling the temple of king Latinus denoted a celestial or solar origin;

"Cui tempora circum
"Aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt,
"Solis avi specimen." (Virg. Æn. xii. 162),

for his mother, Circe, was daughter of the Sun (Hesiod). Thus many Greek and Roman gems, medals of kings and emperors, and other monuments of antiquity exhibit heads radiated or distinguished by stars, as signs of deification or consecration. The globes, wings, stars, and different devices

(3) I allude to that beautiful Psalm, the nineteenth, of which the fourth verse concludes (or the fifth begins) with this sentence, "In them (the heavens) hath he set a "tabernacle for the Sun," as our English Bible renders the original Hebrew words, לשמש שם אהל בהם But according to the Greek Septuagint (Εν τω ηλιω εθετο το σκηνωμα αυτου ; the Latin Vulgate ("In sole posuit tabernaculum suum"); and the Æthiopick version (for which see Walton's Polyglot); we should read "In the Sun he "placed his tabernacle." And the passage is thus translated in the Arabick version جعل مسكنه في الشمس "He placed his dwelling in the Sun."

(4) "Θεον τε αυ ο ιεραξ—ο δε ιεραξ (συμβολον, ηλιου." (Clem. Alexandr. Strom. V, Sect. vii, pp. 671, 672, edit Potteri).

on the crowns of Persian kings who venerated fire, seem to me evidently symbols of the Sun; but a discussion respecting those matters would involve subjects to which the limits of an appendix are wholly inadequate. Here, however, must be remarked, as more immediately within the scope of this article, a human head appearing amidst flames that ascend from an altar, on several medals of *Sasanian* kings. Three such may be seen delineated in Plate XXI, of the first Volume, wherein (p. 441) I supposed the head to represent ORMUZD or the Divinity existing in sacred flame. The Persians by whom those medals were coined would have thought it an act extremely impious to consume any portion of a human body by fire, expecially by that which glowed upon their altars; this opinion they inherited from their ancestors and transmitted to their descendants(5). We

(5) That Cambyses violated the religious laws of his own nation (as of the Egyptians) (εντελλομενος ουκ οσια), when he caused the body of King Amasis to be burnt, we learn from Herodotus (III, 16); for, says he, the Persians regarding Fire as a God, think it criminal to feed the flame with a human carcass. Another ancient writer, Ctesias, in his Anecdotes of Persian history (LVI), mentions a man who, against the law (παρα τον νομον), had consigned to fire the body of his father. We find among the ancient Greek epigrams published by Lubinus in his Anthologia, (1604, Lib. III. p. 490) one of Dioscorides, beginning thus

"Ευφρατην μη καιε, Φιλονυμε, μηδε μιηνης
"Πυρ ε'π' εμοί, Περσης ειμι, &c.

In this, a servant, named Euphrates, intreats that his body may not be burnt; for, says he, I am a Persian, and to my fellow countrymen the profanation of fire is worse than death. From Nicolaus Damascenus it also appears that Zoroaster had prohibited the burning of human bodies (See Henr. Valesii "Excerpta ex collectaneis Constant. Porphyrog. p. 460, Paris, 1634). That this respect for fire has not decreased in latter times, we learn from our European travellers, from Dr. Hyde and other writers con-

cannot therefore consider the device on those medals above-mentioned, as alluding to any exhibition of a real head placed amidst flames; for never in the performance of their civil or religious ceremonies; nor on any other occasion, publick or private, did the genuine Persians so contaminate their altars. Supposing the head symbolical, I have assigned it conjecturally to ORMUZD; but it may represent one of his offspring or emanations, those angels who presided over the fires of certain temples regarded as pre-eminently sacred(6). Here then, probably, the Persian artist rudely endeavoured to represent what a few words borrowed from the poet

cerning the *Gabrs* and *Parsís*, whose sacred books so ably and faithfully translated by Anquetil du Perron, inform us by how many acts a man offends the sacred element; he must not touch it with his hand; his very breath contaminates it; and if any true worshippers of ORMUZD accidentally approach the spot whereon a human body has been burnt, they are instructed how to purify the fire by a tedious and troublesome process; by removing it nine times to certain distances; by rekindling it nine times and adding particular kinds of wood and perfumes, &c. "Si les *Mazdéiesnáns* allant a pied," &c. (Zendavesta, Tome I, part. 2. p. 341). Indeed the burning of human bodies proceeded from the evil spirit, and renders the soul incapable of entering paradise. See the Zendavesta, in its copious "Table des Matieres," under *Bruler, Feu, Mort*, &c.

(6) Such as the *Ader* (or *Azer*) *Bahrám, Ader Gushasp, Ader Berzín Mihr, Ader Khurdád* and others. The word *Ader* signifies not only those heavenly fires which have revealed themselves to men under particular forms, but also the angels that preside over them, as we learn from M. Anquetil, (Zendav. Tome II. p. 24). See the MS. Dict. *Jehángíri*, and the *Burhán Kátea*, under *Ader* آذر or آذر *Azer*. To express simple fire the word *átesh* آتش is used. That ORMUZD is in many respects confounded with the Creator, appears from the Zendavesta, (See *Ormuzd* in the "Tab. des Mat.") and from Hyde's "Relig. Vet Pers." p. 260, (Oxon 1700., "Deus Omnipotens et æternus ex seipso procedens, ex sui ipsius *luce* et *gloriâ* ortus."

Moore will describe infinitely better than as many of my sentences or pages;

"————a Spirit of Fire
"Shrin'd in its own grand element!"(7).

No. III.

Shebángárah.

RESPECTING this territory or province, and *Kerm* one of its towns, a reference has been made in p. 84, (See also Vol. I. p. 275). The early geographers seem not to have known *Shebángárah* as a distinct tract of country, and, in fact, under this denomination are comprehended places belonging properly to *Fárs*. HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI speaks of it as if the distinction had not been long established when he wrote in the fourteenth century; for, describing *Dárábgird*, as a *kúreh* or district of *Fárs*, he says "and the country now "called *Shebángárah*, to an account of which a particular

(7) See, in his work entitled "Lalla Rookh," (p. 284, eighth edition, 1818) Mr. Moore's inimitable "Fire worshippers." Dazzled by the splendid beauties of this composition, few readers perceive, and none, surely, can regret, that the poet, in its magnificent catastrophe, has forgotten or boldly and most happily violated the precept of Zoroaster, above noticed. The hero HAFED is known and admired in every region; yet, as a friend to his persecuted race, I could have wished that he bore some name illustrious in the annals of Fire worshippers, and not liable to be confounded with HAFED (HAFEDH or HAFEZ, حافظ) which, though adopted by many *Muselmáns* of Persia, declares unequivocally an Arabian origin.

"chapter shall be devoted, was once, for the greater portion, "comprised in this *kúreh.*"

ولايتي كه اكنون شبانكاره ميخوانند عليحده بابي در ذكر ان خواهد امد اكثر اوين كوره بوده است See the twelfth chapter of his Geographical MS. work. The thirteenth then informs us that *Shebángárah* belongs to the *Garmsír* or warm region; that it borders on *Fárs*, *Kirmán* and the Persian Gulf; and contains six towns or principal places; he enumerates, however, more; *Eig* (ایک) and *Derakán* (دراکان); *Istahbonát* (اصطهبنات or *Savonát* as generally called); *Purg* (پرگ or *Furg*), and *Tárum* (تارم); *Heireh* (حیره or *Kheireh* خیره), and *Níríz* (نیریز); *Dárábgird* (دارابکرد); *Kerm* (کرم); *Radnár* (ردنیر); and *Lár* (لار). Although *Dárábgird* appears here as a city of *Shebángárah*, yet, in the chapter of Roads and Stages, we find *Eig* entitled its دارالملک *dáralmulk* or capital. The map of my route in this country will show that *Pasá*, or *Fasá*, stands on the direct line between *Kerm* and *Lár;* yet by some inflection of boundary it has been left to *Fárs* as originally appropriated. Whether, or how far, towards the east, *Shebángárah* encroaches on *Kirmán* does not exactly appear. Chardin says that it comprehends part of Carmania deserta or Gedrosia, (Voyages, Tome IX, p. 29, Rouen, 1723); but he places *Lár* in Carmania deserta, (ib. p. 210). Having heard the name (شبانکاره) pronounced *Shebángárah* I write it accordingly; yet it is probable that for *g* we might correctly substitute *c* (or *k*); this is not determined by Persian MSS. in which the letter ک, without any mark of distinction, is susceptible of both sounds. Chardin writes

Chéboncaré, (ib. p. 29); and this pronunciation seems justified by the Dict. *Burhán Kátea*, (in voce); I remark also that SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI in one of his MS. geographical tracts, would derive the name from شبان *shubán* or *shebán*, and کاره *káreh* or *cáreh*, implying that the people of this country were addicted to pastoral occupations. Ten chiefs or princes who successively ruled it are enumerated by AHMED (احمد) surnamed GHAFA'RI (غفاري) in a particular section of his MS. *Jehán Ará;* but the first does not ascend higher than the eleventh century; for he was NIZA'M AD'DI'N (نظام الدين) generally called FAZLU'IAH (فضلويه) whose imprisonment and death I have noticed in pages 371, 395 and 406.

No. IV.

Account of the Castle of Fahender, extracted from the MS. Shiráz Námah, and translated in page 33.

بموجبي كه در تاريخ رفته قدما و اصحاب تواريخ اورده اند كه فهندر در قديم الايام از معظمات قلاع فارس بوده و پيش از بنا محروسه شيراز ملوك فارس انرا معمور ميداشتند و بدان حصن منيع پيوسته مستظهر بوده اند نقلست كه فهندر از برادر شاپور ذوالكتاف پسر هرمز بود و چون از پيش برادر بكرخت و با لشكري عظيم بطرف شيراز امد و در پايين مسجد سليمان عم جمعي از سل ساسانيان تمرد نموده بودند با او پيوستند و اهل فارس سر در ربقهٔ خضوع و طاعت او كشيدند فهندر اب ان قلعه‌را ترتيب كرد و عمارتي چند در انجا بساخت و حصون و حصاري چند بديد اورد و ان قلعه بفهندر اشتهار يافت نقلست كه چون شيرويه پدرخود پرويزرا با هفده تن از

برادران خود و برادرزادگان در یک روز بقتل اورد و دایه یزدجردرا برگرفت و بطریق فرار بفارس اورد و یزدجرد در سن چهار سالگي بود گویند مدت دوسال و نیم در قلعه فهندر باز ماند چون یزدجرد بدست سلطنت نشست تاج انوشیروان با خزاني بسیار وجواهري چند از بهر ضبط بانجا یکاد فرستاد و در قلعه چاهي عمیق بر کندید و در انجا مدفون و مخفي گردانیدند و جمعي گویند که ان خزانه در زمان عضد الدوله بدست او امد وچندي برانندکه هنوز در انجا مانده است و طلسمي بر ان ساخته اند و طریق استخراج غیر ممکنست و بعضي برانند که مورخان در تاریخ بدین نوع ایراد کرده اند که چون سعدوقاص قادسیهرا بگرفت و عنان عزیمت بصوب فارس منعطف گردانید یزدجرد بن پرویز در نهاوند بود بفرمود تا تاج کسري و دفایني چند که در قلعه فهندر ذخیره کرده بودند برداشتند و پیش خاقان چین بودیعت نهادند و بعد از انقطاع نسل ملوک عجم ان خزاین با تاج در چین باز ماند و این واقعه در عهد خلافت عثمان دست داده و نقلست که در انزمان که لشکر اسلام در بلاد فارس قوت گرفت و مملکت در تحت ایالت ایشان استقرار یافت قلعه فهندر را بگشودند و خراب کردند تا بعهد عماد الدوله همچنان خراب بود و عماد الدوله اب قلعه که یزدجرد بیرون اورده بود از پي ان سرچشمه سعي فرمود تا اب زیادت کردند و نقلست که یزدجرد بر سر چاه قلعه فهندر قبه براورده بود و سیصد دریچه داشت و هر روز بوقت طلوع افتاب ضیاي هر یک انعکاس دادي و بر مثال دیري ساخته بودند و رهابین اورا معتبر میداشتند و بوقت ظهور اسلام و استخلاص ان قلعه را خراب گردانیدند و عماد الدوله انرا بنوعي دیگر معمور کرد و بعد از ان باز احتلالي یافت تا در ان وقت که ابو غانم پسر عضد الدوله خواست که قلعهرا معمور گرداند و کوشکي که عضد الدوله در بیرون دروازه سلم ساخته بود انرا خراب کرد و چوب و اهن و الاتي که بود از ان جایکه بقلعه نقل کرد و بدان الات کوشک عماد الدوله که در قلعه ساخته بود باز معمود گردانید و نزهتگاهي ساخته بود وچند مدت مسکن ابو غانم بود و اورا زیب و زینتي تمام بود و بغایت معمورو ابادان ساخته—I did not interrupt the translation (See p. 36) to remark that here follow three lines and a half of which several parts are nearly obliterated by some accident in the only copy at present within my reach. From the words,

however, still legible, it may be collected that the *Khurásániáns* having defeated the *Dilemiáns* (but when or where this defective passage does not ascertain) imprisoned many of them in the castle of *Fahender*. The MS. then proceeds (as translated in p. 36, "And many historians declare, &c.")

و جمعي از اصحاب تواريخ اورده اند كه خزاين و سلاح ملوك عجم و انواع نقود و جواهري كه حاصل مملكت ال بويه بود مجموع در قلعه فهندر مضبوط و مدخر بود چندي ديكر هم وز در انجا مانده باشد وچندي ديكر بدست ال سلجوق افتاد

No. V.

Mummy.

BESIDES the natural mummy noticed in page 117, the Persians are acquainted with another kind; their books, at least, describe an extraordinary process by which may be composed that substance which they call "artificial" or "human" mummy; (مومیایي عملي *múmiáíy amily*, or انساني *ensáni*.) But according to the Dictionary *Burhán Kátea*, (in voce مومیایي) this preparation was an art practised among the Franks or Europeans, (اما عملي در میان فرنک معمول إست) and the mummy so produced was regarded by some as preferable to that which naturally oozed from rocks or mines, (و بعضي اين قسمرا بهتر از كاني ميدانند). The process itself is briefly mentioned; but I shall here extract the more ample account given in a manuscript *Sherehh* شرح or volume of commentaries on NIZA'MI's poem the *Secander Námeh*. Having remarked

the wonderful efficacy of mummy in external applications to fractured bones, and its salutary effects when taken inwardly, the commentator adds that it is of two sorts; those who prepare the first, says he, "select an infant of a red "complexion and red hair, whom they feed on fruit until the "age of thirty years; they next provide a stone jar or vessel, "containing honey and various kinds of drugs, in which they "immerge the person so fed and then fix a seal upon the "vessel; after a lapse of one hundred and twenty years, they "break the seal; and that honey and the man's body are found "to have become mummy"(8). The second sort he says, is found in those stone vessels or cases wherein the bodies of illustrious personages were, according to ancient custom, preserved by means of honey. From Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, and other classick writers, it might be shown that honey and wax were much used by the ancients in preserving human bodies; but the chief subject of this article is that rare and precious substance, the natural Persian mummy. Whatever notices of this (see p. 117) were given by a few earlier travellers, the ingenious physician Kæmpfer seems justified in regarding himself as the first who made its medicinal virtues fully known among Europeans. Chardin

(8) یکي انکه بچه سرخ روي و سرخ موي را از میوه مي پرورند چون عمرش بسي میشود کندوي سنکین راست میکنند و انرا بشهد و انواع ادویه پر میکنند و ان مرد پرورد را در ان کندوي اندازند و ان کندورا مهر میکنند تا صد و بیست سال میکذرد بعده ان مهر میکشایند ان شهد و مردم مومیایي میشود

mentions two mines or sources that produce it; one in *Kirmán*, the other in *Khurasán;* and the Persians affirm, adds he, that the prophet Daniel instructed them in preparing and using this admirable drug(9). Father Angelo describes the precious mummy which oozes out of a mountain near *Lár*, and of which half a drachm suffices to render sound and perfect in twenty four hours, the limbs of any person fractured by falling from an eminence(10). Dr. Fryer in his "Travels" (p. 318), speaks of a mountain at *Derab* from which "issues "the Pissasphaltum of Dioscorides, or natural muminy, into "a large stone tank or store-house sealed with the king's seal, "&c. which notwithstanding, though it be death if discovered, "yet many shepherds following their flocks on these moun- "tains, by chance light on great portions of the same balsam, "and offer it to passengers to sale, and sometimes play the "cheat in adulterating it."

Kæmpfer states that the best mummy was produced in a most dreary and desert place, (locus—maxime desertus) at the distance of one day's journey from *Dárúb;* and that a

(9) "Il y en a deux mines ou deux sources en Perse. L'une dans la Caramanie "deserte au pais de *Sar*——L'autre mine est au pais de Corasson," &c. I quote the edition of Chardin's "Voyages," printed at Rouen, 1723, (Tome IV, p. 39); and, suspecting a typographical errour in *Sar*, would read *Lár;* which the author (Tome IX, p. 210) describes as a territory of "la Caramanie deserte."

(10) "La mommia che stilla dà un monte vicino à Lar è cosa preciosa; basta una mesa "dramma per sanar in 24 hore un huomo caduto dá alto & tutto rotto." (Gazoph. Pers. p. 234).

second but much inferior kind was procured, not without considerable danger and difficulty, among rocks and precipices between *Lár* and *Dáráb;* (Amœn. Exot. 517, 519), and the other particulars which that excellent traveller notices are confirmed by all that I could learn in Persia; yet the name *Muminahi* (مومناهي) applied to it by him, does not occur in any of my manuscripts; nor can it agree with the etymology assigned by eastern authors, who derive *Múm i áyi* from words implying "the wax of a village called *Ayï*," (See p. 118 and 120, also p. 123, note 39). That our late Queen Charlotte received some of this precious substance from the Persian Monarch, has been already mentioned (p. 121); and M. de Ferrières Sauvebœuf informs us that a similar present (about an ounce contained in a golden box) had been sent to the Empress of Russia([11]). A more recent French traveller speaks of the mummy found in a mountain covered with martial ochre, and called *Dara-kou* (the *Derakán* of my narrative, p. 159, and map); he describes the mummy as a kind of bitumen, black and oily, which many physicians in Turkey had employed with success, as they assured him, in fractures and hemorrhages([12]).

([11]) "Environ une once dans une boëte d'or", (Mem Hist. &c. des Voyages, Tome II. p. 33, Paris 1790). M. de Sauvebœuf places near *Shíráz* the mountain which yields "cette precieuse *Momie*," of which the genuine and best kind is sold at nearly "mille ecus" for an ounce, while the inferior mummy produced in the *Lár* mountains, may be purchased for two louis (ib).

([12]) "Plus loin, nous longeons une montagne couverte d'ocre martial; elle s'appelle "*Dara-kou* ou mont de *Dara*. Lá se receuille la *mumie*, cette liqueur si estimée des

Respecting the name I must observe that *Múmiáyi* (مومیایي) is first said, in the Dict. *Burhán Kátea*, to be Greek or Ionian, (*Yúnáni* یوناني); then follows the derivation, (See p. 118, 120), from *múm* (موم) wax, and ایین *Ayín*, "a village that is near the mummy cavern," ده که نزدیک بغار مومیایي است D'Herbelôt seems to have found the name of this village erroneously written in some work *Abín* ابین, instead of ایین *Ayín;* for, seemingly unacquainted with the natural mummy, he tells us that *moumia* signifies the flesh of human bodies embalmed and preserved in the sands or in sepulchres, as among the Egyptians; but, adds he, the eastern mummies are for the greater part, taken out of a cavern near the town or village of *Abin* in *Fárs*[13]. The Dict. *Burhán Kátea* mentions a kind of mummy called *Abu Tamún* (ابوطامون), which is said to be Hebrew; also *Mumiáyi Kúhi* مومیاي کوهي or "mountain mummy;" in Arabick styled *Kafr al Yehúd* (قفر الیهود) or "Jews "bitumen," (written sometimes کفر الیهود), and in the *Shírázi* dialect named *Mumiaíy pálúdeh* (مومیایي پالوده). Both kinds

"Turcs, &c. (Voyage en Perse, fait dans les années 1807, 1808, et 1809; Tome I. p. 349). This interesting work published last year, (1819, in Paris) has but within a few days fallen into my hands; it is comprised in two octavo volumes; but the ingenious author has not declared his name; the booksellers, however, ascribe it to Monsieur Duprè, one of those gentlemen who accompanied General de Gardane on his embassy to Persia. It is illustrated by a large, handsome and useful map constructed by Lapie,

(13) "*Moumia,*" le mot qui est formé de celuy de *Moum,* signifie la chair d'un corps humain conservée dans les sables, après qu'elle a été embaumée. On en trouve aussi dans les sepulcres voutez, comme en Egypte; mais la plus grande partie des moumies de l'orient se tirent d'une caverne, qui est assez proche de la Bourgade nommée *Abin,* située dans la Province de Fars, qui est la Perse proprement dite," (Biblioth. Orient).

of mummy, natural and human, are expressed by *Teriák Turki* (ترياق تركي). It is a popular opinion, says Kæmpfer, that the ancient Egyptians preserved the bodies of their princes and chief personages, by means of the natural mummy; for which they afterwards substituted, under the same name, a compound aromatick balsam, (Amoenit. Exot. p. 520). To this were ascribed such virtues that it became a favourite medicine in the European pharmacopeia; but at length a spurious kind was imposed on our apothecaries; the bodies of persons recently dead, often of malefactors, being stuffed with various drugs and baked, furnished a most nauseous and disgusting representative of the pure original *Múmiáyí*[14].

That human bodies might without any process of art, be preserved during many centuries in the hot sands of a Persian desert, is not improbable. Chardin heard of mummies found in *Khuráṣán*, supposed to have been embalmed two thousand years before, (Tome IV. p. 39); but the gigantick proportions assigned to them, and other circumstances, render the account doubtful. It appears to me ascertained, however, by proofs which may be adduced on some future occasion, that the ancient Persians, in many instances, embalmed the

(14) In a work but little known, entitled "God's plea for Nineveh" (1657), I find "abominable mummy" classed with other articles of medicinal use, and of foreign commerce and luxury; such as "minevers and tissues, musks and civets, teeth of ele-"phants, and bones of whales; stones of *bezars*, claws of crabs, oyles of swallows, skins "of vipers," &c. Kæmpfer too, when speaking of the ancient mummy, says "I do "not mean the doubtful and filthy mixture of that name which the shops afford;" "dubiam illam fœdamque hujus nominis misturam, &c. (Amœnit. Exot. p. 520).

bodies of their great men and of those whom they loved or honoured; but among the various drugs used by them on such occasions, I have not found any positive mention of their native mummy although its virtues were known, (if we may believe the Dict. *Burhán Kátea* in مرمیایي) at a very early period; for it was accidentally discovered while king FERIDU'N reigned, and this monarch is placed in the eighth century before Christ by Sir William Jones, or above two thousand years, as others calculate. We learn also that the first discoverers tried its efficacy on the leg of a domestick fowl purposely broken; and this cruel experiment is still frequently practised by their descendants.

No. VI.

The Lutanist and Nightingale.

HAVING quoted (in p. 221) some lines from one of Strada's beautiful "Prolusions," and a passage (p. 220) from Sir William Jones, respecting the contest between a lutanist and a nightingale, I referred my reader to this Appendix for other authorities on the same subject. And first, we learn from Bourdelot, that "nothing is more common "than to see the nightingales at particular seasons, assemble "in a wood when they hear the sound of certain instruments "or of a fine voice, which they endeavour to answer by their "warblings with such violent efforts, that, says he, I have

"beheld some of them fall as if entranced at the feet of a "person who possessed what is called "a nightingale throat," "to express the flexibility of a fine voice"([15]). Bourdelot adds that frequently, both nightingales and linnets perched even on the handles of lutes, guitars, and other instruments, with which it was usual for persons (when he wrote, above a century ago) to amuse themselves at the Tuileries in Paris, during the month of May.

I must now mention Vauquelin des Ivetaux, who, though a man of abilities and a good poet, yet, from his too free and voluptuous mode of living, forfeited (in 1611) the place of preceptor to the king, and afterwards some ecclesiastical benefices, of which Cardinal de Richelieu deprived him. He then indulged without any restraint, all the caprices of his taste; affecting the pastoral life, he dressed himself as a shepherd; and in imitation of King René and his queen who amused themselves by tending flocks on the plains of Provence, he acted the part of leading some sheep in the walks of a garden belonging to his house in the Faubourg Saint Germain, at Paris; his mistress, who always accompanied him, was a performer on the harp; and while she played,

([15]) "Rien n'est plus commun que de voir les Rossignols dans le tems qu'ils sont en "amour s'assembler dans un bois, lors qu'ils entendent jouer de quelques instrumens, "ou chanter une belle voix, a laquelle ils s'efforcent de répondre par leurs gazouille- "mens avec tant de violence que j'en ai vû souvent tomber pâmez aux pieds d'une "personne qui avoit, comme l'on dit, un gosier de Rossignol, pour exprimer la flex- "ibilité d'une belle voix." (Hist. de la Musique, Tome I. p. 320).

some nightingales, trained for the purpose in an aviary, came to repose on the instrument and lie down as in a swoon. Vauquelin each day invented some new refinement of pleasure; and he died in 1649 aged ninety years. This Epicurean had been a great favourite with Henry the Fourth, and appears almost a Stoick in his book entitled "Institution d'un Prince"([16]).

I shall here extract from Beloe's "Anecdotes of literature "and scarce books," (Vol. VI. p. 119) an epigram of Robert Vilvain, whose quaint old work is deemed particularly rare.

ÆMULATIO MUSICA,

The two musicians (a natural and artificial, vocal and instrumental) which strove for victory.

Aemula certabat cantu Philomela sonora,
Ut citharam strepitu vinceret ipsa suo.
"A nightingal strov with her loud shril nois,
"T'excel the lute with high strains of her voice.

([16]) "Il se livra sans remords a tous ses gouts, et mena la vie la plus volupteuse qu'il put imaginer. Il aima surtout la vie champêtre et pastorale; il s'habilloit en berger; et prenant pour modéle la bergerie du Roi René et de la Reine Jeanne de Laval sa femme, qui s'amusoient a garder leurs moutons dans les plaines de la Provence il feignoit de mener aussi des moutons dans les alleés du jardin de sa maison au faubourg Saint Germain à Paris; et cette fiction pastorale l'amusoit; il avoit pour maitresse une joueuse de harpe qui l'accompagnoit partout en jouant de cet instrument, sur lequel venoient se reposer et se pâmer des rosignols elèvés dans une voliere et dressés a ce manege. Il inventoit tous les jours quelque plaisir, &c. (Extraits et Notices des MSS. de la Bibl. Nation. Tome VII. p. 335).

ALITER.

Certabat citharista manu, Philomelaque cantu,
Alter an alterutrum vinceret arte sua.
"A lutist with hand strov, with voice Philomel,
"Which should ech other in their skil excel.

ALITER.

Inter Lusciniam lis orta est atque chelistum,
Obstrepit hæc cantu, litigat ille manu.
"Twixt nightingal and luter a strife extended,
"In singing she, in playing he contended.

ALITER.

Luscinia infelix citharœdum vincere certat,
Sed tandem in plectrum mortua victa cadit.
"Unhappy nightingal with a lutist strived,
"But on the lute fell down at length and died.

My first Volume (p. 245) mentioned that materials had been collected from various manuscripts for an essay (rather practical and antiquarian than scientifick) on eastern musick; among these are accounts of its extraordinary influence on many living creatures besides the nightingale, though Milton's

"Sweet bird, that shuns the noise of folly,
"Most musical, most melancholy,

seems more than others affected by the soft tones of certain instruments. That it is to a high degree susceptible of delight in such sounds (for we can scarcely suppose their effects

painful) might here be further shown from three remarkable anecdotes, related with an air of authenticity, in the *Kitáb fi ilm al músíki* (كتاب في علم الموسيقي) or "Treatise on the science of Musick;" composed by *Aljezíri ebn al Sebáhh* (الجزيري ابن الصباح); one of the Arabick manuscripts procured for me by a bookseller at *Ispahán*. But I shall not here refer to any other eastern work; anecdotes demonstrating the power of musical sounds on human and irrational creatures may be found in various printed books. Some are recorded by Bourdelot himself, as above quoted, which remind us of Orpheus, Arion and Amphion. They relate however merely to the power of musick in exciting animal sensibility; of its wonderful effects a stronger instance occurs in Dr. Shaw's Travels (p. 203, 2d. edit. 4to. 1757); for he says, speaking of the Barbary Moors, "most of their tunes are lively and "pleasant; and if the account be true, (which I have often "heard seriously affirmed), that the flowers of *mullein* and "*mothwort* will drop upon playing the *mismoune*, they have "something to boast of which our modern musick does not "pretend to." The notes of this Moorish tune are given by Dr. Shaw (p. 205); but we may venture to doubt whether they will ever produce any remarkable effect, through the medium of an European hand or instrument.

No. VII.

Arrow-heads.

THE outlines given in Pl. XXXIX, were traced from various arrow-heads, brass and iron, which they represent of the real size. Many, there is reason to believe, are of considerable antiquity; all, except one, were found in Persia, and chiefly near Persepolis, (See p. 185). Of the iron arrow-heads which I collected, such only are here delineated as differ from others in size or form; and they are arranged perpendicularly. The brass, placed in a horizontal direction, exhibit fewer varieties, and agree in having triple edges, and hollows or sockets to receive the shaft. In these respects they resemble an ancient arrow-head (also brazen) which Sir William Gell found on the memorable field of battle at Marathon, and obligingly gave to me. This, with some decayed particles of the reed or wood still visible in its socket, is represented of the real size by fig. *a;* and when viewed directly in front its three sharp edges are seen as in fig. *b;* which, if enlarged to their proportions, would show, most exactly, the appearance of our Persian arrow-heads when held in the same point of view. I do not however assert that the arrow-head found at Marathon is originally Persian, much less Grecian; it may have belonged to some warrior among the barbarian myriads whom different nations, acknowledging the great king's supremacy, contributed as allies of the Persians, for according to Hero-

dotus, ηγε δε (εθνεα) παντα των ηρχε (Lib. IV. c. 87); and this historian (Lib. VII), enumerates between forty and fifty of those nations who, a few years after the battle of Marathon, served under Xerxes in Greece, and exhibited a strange variety of arms. I should have remarked that all the iron heads above-mentioned, have pointed shanks which, by insertion, united them to the shaft, all of them, likewise, are flat, except those marked *c*, *d*, *e* and *f*; these have triple edges.

No. VIII.

Queen Azerm, or Azermi-dukht.

TO the fate of this beautiful but unfortunate Princess, daughter of KHUSRAU (the Chosroes of our writers) a reference has been made in page 144, note 51. The occasion of her death, which happened about the year 630 (or perhaps early in 631) is related by many oriental historians, and known to European readers through the medium of Teixeira, Schikard, and others; but the circumstances are most fully detailed by TABRI; and one copy of his chronicle, among the four in my collection, records some particulars which I have not found in any other work, either manuscript or printed. It sufficiently confirms the accounts above-mentioned respecting that spirit of ambition or love, which prompted an illustrious chief, FARUKH ZA'D (فرخ زاد, by some named FARUKH HURMUZ فرخ هرمز), to demand in marriage

his young and beauteous queen; her smothered indignation at this proposal; and her insidious appointment of a nocturnal interview which was to crown his amorous hopes. We read that when the moment arrived, FARUKH ZA'D presented himself at the palace; his coming was announced, but by AZERMI's command the guards immediately killed him; by her express command, too, his body was treated in such a manner as shows that offended pride had banished all sentiments of feminine delicacy; and his head stuck on a lance, was exposed, next morning, at the royal gate. "When "intelligence of this event reached *Khurásán* (our Manuscript "continues) RUSTAM the son of FARUKH ZA'D heard it; and "becoming enraged, he assembled an army and set out for "*Madâïen*; where having proceeded straightway to the "palace, he surrounded it with his troops and sent in some "persons who seized the queen and dragged her forth; he "commanded, first, that she should be consigned to the "brutality of two hundred *Habeshis* (Abyssinians, so are "generally styled in Persia the negro or African slaves); then he "caused her hands and feet to be cut off; next, she "was deprived of sight, and finally of life; and all who had "been concerned in that transaction (the killing of his father) "he put to death"(17). Persian history furnishes many

(17) چون این خبر بخراسان رسید و رستم بن فرخ زاد بشنید بخروشید و لشکر برداشت و از خراسان بمداین امد و راست بسراي سلطان در شد و کرداکرد سراي بگرفت و کس‌را بسراي اندر فرستاد که تا ازرمي دخت‌را بگرفتند و بیرون اوردند و

instances of similar punishments, where the most horrible degradation preceded execution; and I have heard anecdotes of such related by persons who had witnessed them; men probably living at this present time (1820). But it would shock humanity to notice the cruelties with which death was inflicted on those occasions, without respect for sex or rank; and of the previous degradation I shall not describe any particulars, it being too often an outrage equally against nature and decency.

No. IX.

Current Coins of Persia.

IN the course of these volumes *tumáns* and *riáls* have been incidentally mentioned as the principal current coins of Persia: but it seems necessary here to notice more particularly the present monarch's gold and silver money, struck in

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نخست بفرمود تا دو بست حبشی با او کار کردند انگاه دست و پایش ببرید و بفرمودش که هر دو چشمش کور کردند انکه بفرمود تا بکشتندش و هر که اندر آن کار بوده بود همه‌را بکشت

So we read in one Manuscript; three other copies of TABRI'S Chronicle omit the amputation of her hands and feet, and her degradation by the African slaves. But they state that the young chief having partly gratified his revenge by the violence with which he himself treated the queen's person, commanded that her eyes should be put out, and then terminated her sufferings by death.

و اورا بگرفت و باوی بقهر و جور ببود چون ازوی مراد خود بستد و هر دو چشمش &c.

different cities. Among several hundred pieces of both metals that passed through my hands, I always found the coins of *Isfahán* and *Tabríz* by far most numerous; those of *Tehrán*, although the royal residence, being comparatively rare. For many centuries after the Muhammedans had conquered Persia, the gold, silver and copper money of this country bore, respectively, the Arabick names of *dínár*, *dirhem*, and *felús*(18). This last-mentioned is still impressed on the copper pieces; yet these are generally styled *púl i síáh* (پول سیاه) or "black money." The *dínár* is seldom mentioned; for the principal gold coin is at present the *túmán* (تومان) or, as sometimes called, *ashrefi* (اشرفي); and the silver *dirhem* has adopted the European denomination of *ríál* (ریال). The *túmán*, which in Chardin's time was the name of an imaginary coin, or rather one expressing a sum equivalent to fifty pieces each of eighteen French sous (19), is of pure gold; a few *túmáns* struck with particular attention for annual distribution in presents at the *nawrúz*, are very handsome coins; but those in common circulation, though from the same

(18) *Dínár* (دینار) is the "denarius;" *dirhem* (درهم) the *drachma*, and *felús* فلوس (in the singular فلس) is the *follis* of the Romans.

(19) "Tomans—cinquante abbassis, ou pieces de dixhuit sols."—"Ils comptent par "*Dinar bisty* et *Tomans*, quoi qu'ils n'ayent point de pieces de Monnoye ainsi appel-"lées, et que ce ne soient que des denominations." Chardin, Voyages, Tome IV, p. 274, 277, Rouen 1723. In another place (Tome VIII, p. 99), he values *twelve tomans* at fifty *Louis d'or*; of the present gold *túmáns* twelve would not be equal to ten Louis d'or.

mint, exhibit marks of considerable carelessness, being frequently of unequal thickness, and irregular shape; in one place a blank margin extending sometimes beyond the circle of the die; and in another part the inscription often defective. The *támáns* are thinner and lighter than our English guinea and generally less in diameter; but some (especially of *Cazvín)* are so flattened out as to cover a greater space. In value, however, they are much inferior; for if twenty-one shillings constitute the guinea, a *túmán* must be rated between seventeen and eighteen. All *támáns*, wheresoever coined, bear on one side the king's name and titles as represented inPl. XXXVI, (figure marked 1), the words being arranged in that fanciful and complex form which the Persians are fond of adopting on their coins and seals; السلطان ابن السلطان فتحعلي شاه قاجار, *Al Sultán ebn al Sultán, Fatteh Ali Sháh, Kájár.* "The Sultán or Monarch, the son of a "Sultán, Fatteh Ali Shâh, of the Kajar tribe."

The other side expresses the place and date of coinage. To the names of most Persian cities distinctive titles are added; thus in the same plate, fig. 2, a *túmán* of *Tehrán* exhibits on the reverse ۱۲۲۴ ضرب دار السلطنت طهران *Zarb dár al sultanet Tehrán*, 1224. "The coinage of (or struck at) the seat of empire, *Tehrán*, in the year 1224," corresponding to 1809 of Christ(20). And this title, *Dár al sultanet*, is given also to the

(20) With nearly the same meaning *Tehrán* is sometimes entitled *Dár al Kheláfet*, (دار الخلافت).

cities of *Isfahán*, *Cazvín* and *Tabríz* on their *túmáns*; as in fig. 3, we read ۱۲۲۵ ضرب دار السلطنت اصفهان "coined at the seat of "empire, *Isfahán*, 1225, (A. D. 1810)". This same legend, the name and date being changed, serves for fig. 4, a *tumán* of *Cazvín* or *Kazvín*(قزوین), 1224, A. D. 1809. On a *tumán* of *Tábríz* (fig. 5), the word *seneh* (سنه "year") is thus added, ۱۲۲۷ ضرب دار السلطنت تبریز سنه "coined at the seat of empire, *Tabríz*, in the year 1227," (A. D. 1812). This coin, however, differs considerably from those above described, and the *tumáns* which follow, in the arrangement of its legend([21]).

Of other cities I have also delineated some *tumáns* in the same Plate; fig. 6, represents one of *Shíráz* with the words ۱۲۲۷ ضرب دار العلم شیراز *Zarb dár al ilm Shíráz*, 1227; "coined at the seat of science, *Shíráz*, 1227, (A. D. 1812). Fig. 7. one of *Meshehd*, formerly called *Tús* (طوس) in *Khurásán*, ۱۲۲۶ ضرب مشهد مقدس سنه *Zarb Meshehd Mekeds Seneh*, 1226;

([21]) In modern Persian coins the inscription generally ascends. The date is sometimes nearest to the reader, as in fig 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9; then the word ضرب (as in fig. 4, 6, 8), or its final *b* ب as in fig. 2, 3, &c. But in fig 7, we find this ب placed over the word *meshehd* مشهد. In all the *tumáns* however here delineated, the name of the city is at top, or farthest from the reader, except in fig. 5, where *Tabríz* (تبریز) appears (but without diacritical points) over the word سنه *seneh*, and under the *b* ب of ضرب. We perceive in fig. 14, the *alif* of *Marághah* (مراغه) dividing the coin perpendicularly. So intricate is the combination of letters in some legends that I have seen intelligent Persians much embarrassed by their difficulties. It is therefore not surprising that the venerable Tychsen should have ascribed to another city a coin of *Shíráz;* (See his "Additamentum Primum Introd. in Rem Num." &c. p. 69, tab. ii. fig 23). His mistake arose from the false collocation of *áz* (از) the two last letters, under *Shír* (شیر) the three first of *Shíráz;* and the confusion or omission of diacritical points.

"coined at *Meshehd* the holy, in the year 1226," (A. D. 1811). Fig. 8. ۱۲۲۵ ضرب دار المومنين كاشان *Zárb dar al múmenín Cáshán*, 1225; "coined at the residence of the faithful, *Cáshán*, 1225, (A. D. 1810). Fig. 9, one of *Rasht*, in *Gílán*, near the Caspian sea, ضرب دار المرز رشت *Zarb dár al marz Rasht*, 1225; "coined at the seat or capital of the borders, *Rasht*, 1225, (A. D. 1810).

Such are the reverses of these different *tumáns;* the obverses of all bearing the kings name and titles as above explained. These coins are sufficiently numerous(*); but the half and quarter *tumáns* seldom occur in publick circulation; some half *tumáns* of my collection, (see their size, fig. 10) are of *Tabríz;* the quarter seem to be from the same die, but are proportionably thinner, though not of less pure gold, than the half *tumáns;* a few quarters that I possess were coined at *Isfahán;* these and the half, in their legends on both sides, perfectly agree with the whole *túmán.*

(*) I heard at *Tabríz*, in 1812, from a person reputed of good authority, that for a long time before, the king had sent, every year, vast quantities of *túmáns* into *Mázenderán* or Hyrcania, the country of his own tribe; where those sums are supposed to be buried in secret places among rocks and forests. Considerable quantities, also, are kept at the royal residence in strong *sandúks* (صندوق), or boxes made of wood, and coated on the outside with silver, being about four feet long, and proportionably broad and high. From these the proper officers take out, under the king's inspection, by means of scales and weights at once ascertaining one hundred, or a much larger sum, whatever may be necessary for immediate expenditure. The Ambassador one day at *Tehrán* saw twelve of those boxes full of *túmáns*, in a room where the king admitted him to a private audience.

In the various mints from which issue these gold coins, are likewise struck the silver *ríáls* (ریال) bearing inscriptions on both sides so exactly like the *túmáns* that, when the place and date correspond, it would seem as if one die had served for the two metals. The *ríáls*, however, are very thick; eight of them being, in common currency, equal to one *tumán*. Among thirty *ríáls* now lying on my table, some of *Tabríz* appear the handsomest coins; perfectly circular with neatly milled edges. Next in beauty are those of *Isfahán*, *Cáshán*, and *Cazvín;* but several are most irregular in their forms; and have been struck with so little care that the legends are incomplete; thus on a *ríál* of *Asterábád* (fig. 11), inscribed ضرب دار المومنين استراباد *Zarb dár al mumenín Asterábád* "coined at the seat of the faithful, *Asterâbâd*," the date is nearly effaced, but was probably 1222 or A. D. 1807. On a *ríál* of *Yezd* (fig. 12). we read ضرب دار العبادة يزد *Zarb dár al ebádet Yezd*, "coined at the seat of religious worship, *Yezd*;" the date, almost effaced, seems to be like that of the last, 1222, (A. D. 1807).

Some *ríáls* bear the simple names of towns without any titles or epithets; thus (fig. 13), one of *Urúmi* (or *Urmia*, spelt *Arúmi)* ضرب اروميي "coined at *Urúmi*," with a date 1221, (A. D. 1806); also one of *Marághah* in *Aderbaiján*, (fig. 14), ضرب مراغه "coined at *Marághah*," and dated 1218 (A. D. 1803). This date is in the margin below, and some characters appear at top almost obliterated, in which the word *Allah* (الله,

God) seems to form part of a sentence; some are found also much effaced on a *ríál* of *Lâhijân* in *Gílán*, delineated in fig. 15, ضرب لاهيجان "coinage of *Lâhijân;*" the date does not appear; one *rîál*, likewise, exhibits simply the words ضرب خوي, "coined at *Khái*" with a date; another prefixes the word *beldet* to the name; ضرب بلده كرمانشاهان; "coined at the city or town of *Kirmán Sháhan*," or, as generally called, *Kirmánsháh.*

The smaller pieces of silver money are not common in circulation; the quarter *rîál* coined at *Tabríz* in 1225 (1810), is from the very die of the gold half *tumáns* above-mentioned; and the silver *sháhi* (شاهي, about the eighth of a *ríál*) is generally so very thin as to equal and often exceed in diameter the quarter *ríál*, or the gold half-*túmán*. Of these *sháhis*, the members of our embassy received handfuls at the usual distribution of royal gifts on the *nawrúz* festival.

The obverses of all these gold and silver coins present the royal titles as described in page 491; but the honour of bearing the monarch's name is not allowed to ignoble copper, or *púl i siáh* (پول سياه) "black money" as it is commonly styled; and the *felús* struck in various towns rarely circulate beyond the precincts of those districts to which they respectively belong. One side expresses the place of coinage and often the date; the other, some device perhaps peculiar to that place; they are mostly of such rude execution that Persians from other towns are often unable to ascertain

the device, or decipher the inscription. Fig. 16, is copied from one of these, exhibiting what some believed to be a dragon; others supposed a tree or flower; and I thought a scorpion; but one, who seemed to speak from certain knowledge, affirmed that this figure represented a *táoús* (طاوس) or peacock, and that the words were "*Felûs i Tehrán,*" (فلوس طهران) or "copper money of *Tehrán;*" I have seen, however, some *felûs* of this city impressed with the armorial ensign of *Irán* or Persia, the *Shír u Khurshîd Iráni* (شیرو خورشید ایراني), a lion with the sun rising over his back.

This device also occurs on the coins of other places; thus one in fig. 17, bears the lion and sun with the words *Felús i Kirmân sháhân* (فلوس کرمانشاهان), or "copper money of *Kirmán sháhán;*" a date, of which the fourth figure has been pared away, was probably 1225, (A. D. 1810); and another in my collection (fig. 18) with an inscription which I cannot read, represents the lion passing from left to right; a direction not usual in Persian devices, and contrary to the rules of European heraldry.

On fig. 19 we read *Felús i Cáshân* (فلوس کاشان) "copper money of *Câshán;*" its device is the sun having a human face, if so it may be styled. Some *felûs* of this city bear a dragon or *ázhdehâ* (اژدها) for their device. The *felûs* of *Ganjah* (گنجه) exhibit a hare or *khargúsh* (خرگوش); and other places distinguish their copper money with the figures of a bird, a silk-worm, a fish, a horse, and different animals.

Some very beautiful gold coins, large and thick, equivalent each to five *túmáns;* have been occasionably struck at *Tabríz* for the particular use of the king or of Prince ABBA'S MI'RZA'. This account of Persian money may be closed with an observation respecting counterfeits; these are not by any means uncommon; especially pieces of copper extremely well coated with silver and resembling most exactly the *ríáls* of various cities. But the Persians are not restricted to the use of their own king's money; payments are frequently made in Turkish piasters, Venetian sequins, Dutch ducats, and other foreign coins, according to their intrinsick value; thus I once received, as current, from a *Sarraf* (صراف) or money changer in the publick *bázár* at *Tehrán,* a gold coin of Louis Bonaparte, king of Holland.

No. X.

Tavernier and de Ferrières Sauveboeuf.

IN page 289, note 81, it was observed that these two travellers did not join the numerous crowd of able and accomplished men who have so loudly celebrated the beauty and magnificence of Persepolis, and expressed their admiration of its extraordinary reliefs, inscriptions, and sepulchral monuments. In Tavernier's very brief notice of it, there is much confusion; for having mentioned twelve columns still on their bases in his time (1665), and many niches;

in the mountains overlooking them, he talks of *Chehilminár* as a different place where he had often been; once in company with a Dutchman named Angel, who employed himself above eight days among the ruins making drawings of them all, yet declared that they were not worthy of so much trouble, nor sufficient to recompense a traveller for turning off from his road one quarter of an hour. In short, adds Tavernier, they consist merely of old columns, a few standing, others fallen on the ground; some very ill-formed figures, and small chambers, square and dark, &c.([23]).

M. de Ferrières Sauveboeuf, (who travelled in the East from 1782 to 1789), says that instead of magnificent architectural monuments, Persepolis offers nothing to the view but a series of ruins, arches supported by walls of extraordinary thickness, and a confused group of enormous and badly proportioned columns, with capitals of clumsy workmanship. Alexander, adds he, may have regretted that Bacchanalian revel which caused the destruction of Darius's palace; yet from what remains it does not appear that this

([23]) "A la pointe de la montagne et sur la droite du grand chemin, on voit douze "colomnes qui sont encore sur pied, &c." De là on vient à Tcheelminar ou j'ay esté plusieurs fois, et entre autres en la compagnie du sieur Angel, &c il avoua qu'il avoit mal employé son temps, et que la chose ne valoit pas la peine d'estre desseignè, ni d'obliger un curieux á se detourner un quart d'heure de son chemin; car enfin ce ne sont que des vielles colomnes, les unes sur pied, les autres par terre, et quelques figures tres mal faites, avec de petites chambres quarrées et obscures," &c. (Voyages de Perse, Liv. v. p. 729, 1679).

vast and solid structure can have been a master-piece(24). The decisive tone of this account would imply, what is not however positively affirmed, that the writer had himself inspected the ruins; but I am inclined to doubt on this occasion, as an eminent French critick on another, that M. de Ferrières Sauveboeuf had actually been at the place which he describes(25).

With respect, however, to Tavernier, the case is different, for he had often visited *Chehilminár* according to his own declaration above-quoted. Yet Le Brun (to whom we are indebted for many excellent views, copies of inscriptions, and delineations of antiquities, made there in 1704), can scarcely believe that Tavernier had ever been on the spot; so disparaging is his account of the ruins in general; and so irreconcileable with their actual state in one circumstance particularly; for where Tavernier places but twelve columns, Le Brun, forty-eight years afterwards, found nineteen(26).

(24) "Le voyageur curieux qui croit trouver dans Persepolis les restes d'une architecture magnifique et sompteuse, n'y voit qu'une suite de ruines et de voutes soutenues par des murs d'une epaisseur extraordinaire, avec un amas de colonnes enormes mal proportionées, et de chapitaux grossierement travaillés. Le festin bachique ou des torches furent allumées pour detruire le palais de Darius, put causer des remords à Alexandre; mais il ne paroit pas, d'apres ce qui en reste, qui ce batiment vaste et solide put être un chef d'œuvre." (Memoires Histor. Polit. et Geogr. des Voyages du Comte de Ferrières Sauveboeuf, p. 35, Paris, 1790).

(25) "Sa relation——est si inexacte, qu'on peut douter que l'auteur ait été sur les lieux." M. de Sacy, "Memoires sur div. Antiq. de la Perse," p. 213.

(26) "Je ne saurois m'empecher de dire que j'ai de la peine a croire que cet auteur y ait jamais été," &c. (Voyages, &c. p. 280, Amst. 1718).

Father Angelo, a traveller contemporary with Tavernier, takes various opportunities of censuring him, (See the "Gazophylacium Persicum," pp. 158, 196, 328, 388); he is also rebuked with indignation by Chardin, for speaking decisively of the Persian language which he never understood; on the contrary, being wholly ignorant of any tongue used by the Persians he was, even on his last journey, assisted by Chardin and others as interpreters(27). Mr. Plaisted, who in 1750, came from Bengal to Europe by way of Basrah and Aleppo says, "Tavernier, from whom I naturally expected very authentic accounts, has so far deviated from the true state of things in crossing the desert, that was I not aware his Voyages were collected after he had done travelling, (mostly from his memory), I should have been suspicious that many things delivered as his, had been the produce of some of those chamber-geographers who describe whole kingdoms and their different roads without ever having stept out of their mother country, and are as little capable of judging of the authors," &c(28).

(27) "Cela même qui m'aussi paru insupportable, je veux dire que Monsieur Tavernier ait eu l'assurance de parler si decisivement du Langage des Persans; lui dis je, qui n'a jamais sçû un mot d'aucunes des langues que les Persans parlent; et qui sait au contraire que moi et plusieurs autres gens qui sommes en Europe, lui avons servi d'interprètes en Orient la derniere fois qu'il y fut." (Voyages, Tome IX. p. 86, Rouen, 1723). See also the credulity of Tavernier remarked in Tome IV, p. 133.

(28) "A Journal from Calcutta, &c." Pref. p. 1. 2d. edit. 1758.

Another traveller who has lately visited Persia bears witness also of a serious nature against Tavernier; describing him as a writer not always studious of veracity([29]). Our learned Hyde accuses Tavernier of plagiarism respecting a passage (not perhaps alone) taken from the work of Pere Gabriel de Chinon, (who had resided thirty years in Persia), printed at Lyons, 8vo. 1671([30]). The ingenious De Pauw asserts that Tavernier could scarcely read or write; and that those were known who had assisted him with their pens; being themselves but indifferently qualified for the task; so that his accounts are useless in all that concerns the antiquities of Persia, and different points of criticism and erudition([31]). Enough has perhaps been quoted to invalidate the testimony of Tavernier respecting Persepolis; on many subjects I am willing to allow him considerable praise; it is probable that he had often been deceived by others, and we

([29]) "Tavernier, qui n'est pas toujours veridique," &c. See the "Voyage en Perse fait dans les années 1807, 1808 et 1809," &c. (Tome I. p. 402). I have remarked on a former occasion (p. 479 note 12), that this entertaining and instructive work is ascribed to Monsieur Duprè.

([30]) "Sciendum est Tavernierum ad instar plagiarii hocce de *Gavris* paragraphum "(et forte multa alia) desumpsisse ex alio Itinerario Gallico," &c. (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 545, Oxon, 1700).

([31]) "Mais Tavernier savoit à peine lire et écrire; on connoit ceux qui lui on prete "leur plume; et qui etoient aussi des rèdacteurs tres mediocres; de sorte qu'on "ne peut faire aucun usage de ses Relations dans tout ce qui concerne les antiquités de "la Perse, et differents points de critique ou d'erudition." (Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, Tome I. p. 276, Berlin, 1773).

may believe that those who arranged his papers for the press, found extreme difficulty in giving any decent form to a mass so confused(32); even the abbé Ladvocat, who, in his Dictionaire Historique Portatif, classes Tavernier among the most famous travellers of the seventeenth century, acknowledges that his "Voyages" though curious, were neither accurate, nor held in much esteem," (quoique curieux ne sont ni exacts ni estimés); having been partly compiled from the information of a Capuchin, Father Raphael, who resided at *Ispahân.* Closing this article I shall observe that Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who was a native of Paris, where his father sold maps, having in the course of six journies to the East, acquired considerable wealth by speculations in precious stones, was ennobled under Louis XIV, and purchased the barony of Aubonne, near the lake of Geneva. This however he sold, and died on his seventh journey at Moscow in 1689, aged eighty four years.

(32) Those who assisted him on this occasion were M. Chappuzeau and M. de la Chapelle; the former (in a passage quoted by Bayle, Dict. Hist. art. "Tavernier"), complains of the "condition fort onereuse, qui etoit de donner quelque forme a son "cahos," styling this task a "miserable travail;" it appears also that in some instances Tavernier dictated from memory, if not from imagination, "il tiroit de sa tete."

No. XI.

Account of Istakhr or Persepolis, extracted from the Persian MS. Núzhat al Culúb, and translated in p. 379.

اصطخر از اقليم سوم است طولش از جزاير خالدات فح ل وعرض از خط استوا ل بقبلي كيومرث بنياد كرد و بروايتي پسرش استخر نام و هوشنک بر ان عمارت كرد و جمشيد با تمام رسانيد چنانكه از حد خفرک تا اخر راسجرد مسافت چهارده فرسنک طول ان بود وعرض ده فرسنک ودر ان چندين عمارت و زراعت و قري بود و سه قلعه محكم داشته بر سر سه كوه يكي معروف باصطخر دوم شكسته سوم هنكوان و انرا سه كنبدان گفتندي ،ولف فارس نامه گويد جمشيد در اصطخر در پاي كوه سرايي كرده بود و صفت ان سرا انكه در پاپان كوه دكه ساخته از سنک خاراي سياه و ان دكه چهارسو بوده يكجانب در كوه پيوسته و سه طرف در صحرا كشوده ببلندي سي كز از دو طرف بنردبان بر ان رفتندي و بر طرف ديكر دكه ستونها از سنک سفيد مدور كرده و بر ان نقاري چنان باريک كرده كه بر چوب نرم نتوان كرد و بر دركاه دو ستون مرتع نهاده وپارهاي ان ستونها هريک زيادة از صد هزار من باشد و در ان نزديكي بر ان شكل سنكي نيست و برادة ان اساک خون ميكند بر جراحات و بر انجا صورت براق پيغمبر صلي الله عليه واله كرده رويش بشكل ادمي با ريش مجعد وتاج بر سر و دست و پا و دم بر صفت كاو و صورت جمشيد بشكلي سخت زيبا كرده و در ان كوه حوضها از سنک كنده‌اند چنانكه اب كرمش از چشمه زاينده است و باتش محتاج نشده و بر سر كوه دخمهاي عظيم بوده كه عوام انرا زندان باد گفتندي بوقت ظهور اسلام چون اهل اصطخر چند نوبت خلاف عهد كردند و غدر انديشيدند مسلمانان در انجا قتل و خرابي عظيم كردند و در عهد صمصام الدوله ديلمي امير قتلمش لشكر كشيد و انرا بكلي خراب كردانيد و بقدر دهي مختصر ماند و در خرابهاي عمارت جمشيدي توتياي هندي يابند كه درد چشمرا مفيد بود و كس ندانست كه اين توتيا انجا چون افتاده و اكنون مردم اين ستونهارا كه از ان عمارت ماند چهل منار خوانند در مجمع ارباب المالک گويد كه ان ستونهاي عمارت خانه همايي بنت بهمن است و در صور اقاليم امده كه ان ستونها از مسجد سليمان پيغمبر عليه السلام بوده است و شايد كه

خانه جمشیدرا سلیمان عم مسجد کرده باشد و باز همانرا خانه کرده و هر سه روایت درستست و چون عرصه اصطخر طویل و عریض بود بعضي از مواضع که اکنون انرا مرودشت میخوانند داخل ان عرصه بوده است از ارتفاعاتش غله و انکور بهتر بود و از میوها سیب شیرین و خوب مي باشد

No. XII.

Rustam and Hercules.

MY authority for declaring (p. 17) that RUSTAM was famed in Eastern romance before the tenth century, when FIRDAUSI immortalized his name, is Moses of Chorene, who flourished in the fifth(33). This Armenian writer condemns as fabulous some wonderful anecdotes related by the Persians concerning RUSTAM, whom he entitles SAZKI, erroneously, as I suspect, for SIGZI, a surname which the hero derived from his native place(34). That

(33) That M. de Sainte Croix had published some doubts whether those works attributed to Moses Chorenensis were not of the eighth century, I observed in Vol. I. p. 42, note 56. But in the second edition (1804) of his admirable "Examen Critique "des Historiens D'Alexandre." p. 169, the Baron seems no longer to entertain any doubts; but confidently quotes the Armenian History as a work of Moses Chorenensis who lived in the fifth century; "Moïse de Chorene qui vivoit dans le cinquiéme siécle." This confirms the date assigned to him by the two Whistons his editors; and many other learned men.

(34) RUSTAM was born on *Sigz* (سگز), a lofty mountain in *Zábulistán*, "and on that account he was surnamed *Sigzi*" (و اورا سگزي از ان جهت گويند). The province of *Zábulistán* زابلستان was also called *Sigziestán* (سگزيستان), *Siestán* (سيستان), and *Sigestán* (سگستان, in the Arabian manner written *Sijestán* (سجستان), as we learn from the Dict. *Burhán Kateá*.

RUSTAM exceeded in strength an hundred and twenty elephants, Moses particularly enumerates among the old "lies"(35); and we find a similar description of him in modern Persian works. "RUSTAM" says an ingenious commentator, "is the name of a certain hero who possessed the "strength of an hundred and twenty elephants; *Rakhsh* "(having the vowel accent *fatteh)* is the name of RUSTAM's "horse, which was selected from fifty thousand; no other "horse could carry his weight, and no other person could "venture to mount on *Rakhsh*"(36). In a little sketch of Persian history published many years ago, I mentioned that the seven labours of RUSTAM, fully equivalent to the twelve of Hercules, had been celebrated by FIRDAUSI, and that RUSTAM is perhaps the only ancient character, real or fictitious, of whom the Persian painters seem to have entertained but one idea; for in the illuminated manuscripts, as if copying from some long-established model, they generally represent him of the same complexion, (his hair and beard being tawny or reddish-brown) in the same singular dress, with the same

(35) "Vilia vanaque mendacia—qualia Persæ de Restomo Sazico memorant, quem "CXX elephantis viribus fuisse superiorem tradunt." See Mos. Choren. Hist. Armen. p. 96, as translated by the Whistons.

(36) رستم نام پهلوان که زور صد وبیست پیل داشت رخش بالفتح اسپ رستم که انرا از پنجاه هزار اسپ چیده کشیده بودند و اسپ دیگر بار رستم کشیدن نمیتوانستي و جز رستم بر رخش سوار شدن نیارستي

MS. *Sherehh* (شرح) or Commentary on the *Secander Námeh* of NIZA'MI.

weapons, his mace, noose and other attributes. His mace or *gurz* (گرز) was crowned with a ponderous knob resembling the head of a bull; this appears in some pictures, resting on the pommel of his saddle; while he discharges an arrow from his bow, the case of which hangs on one side; a quiver on the other. He is also armed with a sword; and sometimes wears on his right thigh (as the ancient εγχειριδιον was carried, see p. 274, note 58), a *khanjar* (خنجر) or dagger, resembling a large knife. This we see him using in copies of the *Sháh Námah;* for having wounded with his sword the DI'V I SEFI'D, or "white demon," (a most formidable giant or chief of Hyrcania) he drew his *khanjar*, says FIRDAUSI, and tore from that monster's body the heart and liver.

فرو برد خنجر دلش بردرید جگرش ازتن تیره بیرون کشید

The incision previous to this butcher-like operation is a favourite subject among the modern Persian painters We find our hero in some pictures, dragging his antagonist from an elephant by means of the noose which he had dexterously cast about his neck; for according to FIRDAUSI, when the noose parted from RUSTAM's hand, the head of the Chinese, or rather *Tátár* monarch, was instantly entangled.

چو ازدست رستم رها شد کمند سر شاه چین اندر امد به بند

He is also represented riding, much at his ease, and carrying on the point of a *nízeh* (نیزه) or spear, the unfortunate PI'LSAM (پیلسم); he transfixed him, says the same poet, with a spear where the girdle encompassed his waist, lifted him from the

saddle, and, as if he had been a ball, tossed him into the centre of the *Turánian* or Scythian army.

یکي نیزه زد بر کمربند اوي ز زین بر گرفتش بر کردار کوي
همیتاخت تا قلب توران سپاه بینداختش خوار در قلب گاه

Although shields are often used by his friends and enemies, I do not recollect any picture that assigns one to RUSTAM; indeed there was but little occasion for a shield to him who possessed the fighting-dress which miraculously protected its wearer from most personal dangers, and which was called *Babber*, *Babberbián* and *Parnián*(37). This dress was made of a skin; brown coloured with whitish stripes; and reached to RUSTAM's knees as we learn from FIRDAUSI, though the painters frequently curtail it. The same poet also mentions (what would seem equally superfluous as a shield) our hero's steel or iron coat of mail, and his iron helmet; but of this, in most pictures, the upper part is concealed within the gaping jaws or skull of a tiger or leopard, presenting however the face generally painted white and spotted, with staring eyes, often green, and sometimes golden. We know that many celebrated

(37) See the words ببر (*Babber*), ببربیان (*Babberbián*) and پرنیان (*Parnián*) in the Dict. *Burhán Kátea*. According to one account this dress was made from the skin of a gigantick *Dív* (دیو) or Demon, whom RUSTAM had slain; another describes it as brought for the hero's use from paradise; and some persons believed it to have been the skin of an extraordinary wild beast killed by RUSTAM in the mountains of *Shám* (شام) or Syria. A creature of the same kind, it is said, appeared again in the time of ANU'SHI'RAVA'N, and destroyed ten thousand men who were sent against it. This dress was a preservative from weapons, fire and water. (See *Burh. Kát.* in ببربیان).

personages, besides Hercules, appear on gems, medals and other ancient remains, wearing skins of beasts, the skulls or jaws of which are fitted, as helmets, on their heads. In illustration of this subject numerous passages might be adduced from the classick writers. We know, also, from Herodotus, Plutarch, Suidas and others, that whole nations, besides the Parthians, wore, in like manner, either the real heads of beasts, or helmets contrived to represent them(38).

How long the Romance of RUSTAM had been popular before the fifth century, when it was condemned by Moses Chorenensis above-quoted, as an idle fiction, cannot, perhaps, be now well determined. That we may reasonably suppose it coeval, at least, with many fabulous anecdotes strangely grafted on the real history of SECANDER or Alexander, and probably much older than the fourth or even the third century, I shall endeavour to show in the next article of this appendix. But whatever age we may assign to the story of RUSTAM's wonderful adventures, of his exploits in

(38) Thus in our own time, the Chinese soldiers wear a dress resembling tiger's skin, and "the cap which nearly covers the face is formed to represent the head of a tiger." (Staunton's China, Vol. II, p. 455). Nations very widely separated used similar means to terrify an enemy. The Mexican warriors, according to Spanish historians, "wore enormous wooden helmets in the form of a tiger's head, the jaws of which were "armed with the teeth of this animal;" and other Mexicans used helmets resembling the head of a serpent, or a crocodile, &c. (Humboldt's Researches in America, Engl. transl. Vol. I, p. 133, 211). It also appears that the savages lately discovered about Nootka Sound, dress themselves in the skins of wolves and other wild beasts, wearing the heads fitted on their own. (See the article "America," in Encyclopedia Britannica; Edinb).

war, of his romantick loves with the beautiful princess TAHMI'NAH (تهمينة) and of his son SUHRA'B's (سهراب) lamentable fate; it yields as much delight to the Asiaticks of this day, as to those who twelve hundred years ago preferred it to the fables invented and related by MUHAMMED himself(39).

It would be rash to assert, since it could not easily be proved, that Hercules has, by any means, served as a model for RUSTAM. In comparing one with the other, less ingenious travellers than Chardin or Kæmpfer might be justified by the general celebrity of RUSTAM as a warrior always victorious; by the multiplicity of modern pictures representing his combats with dragons and giants; and by those sculptures among

(39) The story of RUSTAM, and particularly of his wonderful combat with ISFENDYA'R, had been brought from Persia by travellers at the time when MUHAMMED was detailing his insipid revelations to the *Koreish* Arabs, (See D'Herbelôt's Biblioth. Orient. in *Rostam;* and Sale's *Korán*, chapt. xxxi, note 4). To one of those travellers (NASR or NODAH EBN AL HARETH), the commentators suppose MUHAMMED alludes when he says "there is a man who purchaseth a ludicrous story that he may "seduce men from the way of God," &c. as Sale translates that prophet's words which occur in the *Korán (Súret* of *Lokman*, or ch. 31, verse 6) and are in the original Arabick, و من الناس من يشتري لهو الحديث ليضل عن سبيل الله The words *yashteri al hadíth* in this passage are rendered by Maracci, (Alcor. p. 544) "mercatur "ludicrum novæ historiæ" or (marginally) "novellæ." The mention of purchase would seem to imply a written volume containing this story or romance; the opinions of Arabian commentators, (if any have been given) on this subject, I have not at present an opportunity of examining. To conclude this article it may be observed that the *Sháh námeh* of FIRDAUSI comprises the whole history of RUSTAM'S eventful life; and that the printing of that great work had been undertaken at Calcutta some years ago, (See Vol. I. pref. p. ix), but discontinued after the publication of one part. From the *Sháh námeh* an affecting episode, the story of SUHRA'B, son of RUSTAM, has been extracted, ingeniously translated into English verse, illustrated with many, excellent notes, by Mr. Atkinson, and printed at Calcutta, as noticed in Vol. I. p. 453.

which, though evidently memorials of *Sassanian* princes (and chiefly of SHA'PU'R or Sapor) the ignorant Persians dignify with the name of RUSTAM, whatever figure appears most conspicuous for size, or arms; especially if in the character of a conqueror(40). Such are the obvious authorities for a parallel between the Persian and Grecian hero: but I know not that any antiquary has hitherto remarked some minute instances of conformity which present themselves to a reader of the *Shâh nâmeh*, and other Persian Manuscript works. That such personages as Hercules or RUSTAM could have entered or quitted this world like common mortals, must not be imagined. We accordingly find attached to the birth of each, some very extraordinary circumstances; and each fell, not by the hand of an avowed enemy in honourable warfare, but by a treacherous contrivance. If the infant Hercules crushed two serpents, the boy RUSTAM with his club or mace, killed an immense and furious elephant that had destroyed many persons. As a skilful archer the Persian hero was fully equal to the Grecian; and if Hercules shot Ephialtes in one eye, the forked arrow from RUSTAM's bow

(40) These are the sculptures generally styled, as I have already observed, *Naksh-i-Rustam* (نقش رستم) "The representations or portraits of RUSTAM," (See p. 50, 126, 293) or of Hercules, according to Chardin's interpretation; for RUSTAM he regards as the Grecian Hercules and as our Orlando and Amadis. "*Nachs Rustem* sig-"nifie *les portraits d'Hercule*, a cause des figures heroïques ou gigantesques, qui "sont taillées sur la face du rocher. *Rustem* chez les Orientaux est le même que "l'Hercule des Grecs et que nos Rolands et nos Amadis." (Tome IX, p. 117, Rouen, 1723). See also what Kæmpfer says; "Vocantur autem (figuræ) Rustamicæ quasi "dicamus Herculeæ vel Simsonicæ," &c. (Amœnit. Exot. p. 307).

pierced both the eyes of ISFENDYA'R. A three-pointed arrow was (at least once) used by Hercules; and among the various arms of RUSTAM were a double and a triple-pointed javelin(41); but his favourite weapon was the mace or club (the *gurz* گرز, before mentioned); this, according to pictures in illuminated Manuscripts, he held in his hand even at convivial meetings and in the presence of his sovereign; thus the remains of ancient art exhibit Hercules's club as his most frequent attribute. As the *Khanjar* or long knife (See p. 506) which RUSTAM used in close combat with the White Giant, appears curved thus near the point, according to some pictures; we may fancy that it resembles the *harpé* (ἁρπη) or short falcated sword with which Hercules is represented killing the Hydra or many headed water-dragon of the Lernæan marshes(42). The arrows, too, of Hercules were winged with eagles feathers; so, if we may believe FIRDAUSI, were the arrows of RUSTAM. While different divinities furnished Hercules with certain weapons, and articles of armour and of dress, so through the supernatural aid of a wonderful speaking

(41) With points of iron یکي را سر دوشاخ و یکي سه شاخ as we learn from SEHEM AD'DI'N (سهم الدین) who in the eleventh century of our era, composed a very extraordinary work, the *Nuzhat Námeh Eláiy* (نزهت نامه علایي) containing much curious matter on a variety of subjects; concerning RUSTAM he seems to have obtained through the medium of a learned man, named *Pírúzán* (پیروزان) some original information from *Pahlavi* writings not known to FIRDAUSI.

(42) See M. Millin's splendid work "Peintures de Vases antiques appelés Etrus-" ques," (II. 75); the *harpé*, is found still more like our Persian *Khanjar*, in the hand of Saturn (Stosch's Gems); and of Perseus (Dempst. Etr. Reg.)

bird, the *Símurgh* (سیمرغ), RUSTAM obtained the forked arrow which alone enabled him, when nearly exhausted in a memorable conflict, to subdue ISFENDYA'R. The fighting-dress of RUSTAM was either brought from paradise, or made from the skin of a wild beast which he had slain (See p. 507, note 37); in respect of celestial origin it resembles the armour or garment given to Hercules by the divinities; and as a wild beast's skin, it corresponds to the celebrated spoils of that Cithæronian or Nemean lion which are generally thrown over the shoulders of Hercules; indeed we learn from FIRDAUSI that RUSTAM was partly covered with the skins of lions, for so this hemistich informs us; ورا جوشن از چرم شیران بود The gaping jaws which he wore upon his head, as above mentioned, will remind us of those which Hercules used as a helmet; the open mouth or "chasm" (according to Apollodorus) of the Cithæronian lion(43). As some divinities assisted

(43) Τω χασματι δε εχρησατο κορυθι. (Apoll. Lib. II). But according to Diodorus Siculus (Lib. IV) it was from the lion of Nemea, a place between Phlius and Cleone, (and therefore syled by some the Cleonæan lion) that Hercules obtained the skin which neither iron, brass nor stones could injure; and which, as it covered all his body, he wore that it might protect him from dangers, ειχε σκεπαστηριον των μετα ταυτα κινδυνων. It will appear on reference to p. 507, that this description is sufficiently applicable to RUSTAM's dress of skin, the famous *Babberbián*, which, as we learn from FIRDAUSI, neither fire nor water could hurt, کزاب و از اتش نیاید زیان; neither, adds the poet, could arrows or javelins pierce it; nor could it receive injury from any violence.

نه از هیچ زخمی فکار ایدش نه تیر و نه نیزه گزار ایدش

It would seem, however, that although his cuirass was of lion's skin as abovementioned, he had a dress made from the skin of a *palang*, a tiger, or leopard; for so FIRDAUSI tells us, یکی جامه دارد زچرم پلنگ and the painters represent him accordingly.

Hercules on occasions of extreme difficulty or danger, so the speaking bird *Símurgh* befriended RUSTAM; and taught him also how to heal his wounds with a feather; while, for the same purpose, an oracle indicated a plant to Hercules. This hero, while insane, destroyed his own children; RUSTAM killed young SUHR'AB not knowing him to be his son. Both however soon supplied this loss of offspring; and both were polygamists. They overthrew unjust or cruel tyrants; established monarchs on their thrones; afforded succour to princesses in affliction, and liberated captive warriors. Each was the sovereign of a small state(44); and each acquired a most honourable title by his glorious achievements(45). Yet it was the fate of Hercules that he should pass some time in servitude; and RUSTAM could not regard himself as a free-

(44) From a passage quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. 1, p. 382) it appears that Hercules reigned in Argolis; and he is styled king (*αναξ*) in the last line of Homer's hymn Εις Ηρακλέα Αεοντοδυμον. We learn from Palæphatus that at the time when Hercules destroyed the Lernæan dragon or Hydra, Greece was divided into many states each having its own king; *ησαν δε βασιλεις εφ' εκαστω των χωριων τουτων.* Lernus was the name of a king whom Hercules conquered, and Hydra a fortified place; hence the fable; (De Incred. cap. de hydra). In different Persian MSS. RUSTAM is styled *Sháh* (شاه) sovereign, or as generally translated "king," of *Siestán* or *Sijestán*, *Zábulistán* and *Cábul*.

(45) Alcides, (or Alcæus, as he was named after his grand father), received the title of Herakles, (Ηρακλεης or Ηρακλης) signifying, as some explain it, the glory of Juno, or the glory of heroes; or, as M. Clavier, (Hist. des prem. temps de la Grèce, Tome I, p. 185) the glory or ornament of the earth; deriving it from Ερα and κλεος. RUSTAM received from the great monarch or king of kings, the title of *Jehán Pahlawán* (جهان پهلوان) or "the world's chief hero;" also of *Tahemtan* (تهمتن) expressing a warrior of unequalled valour and powers.

man until he had received from king *Cáús* a formal *ázád námeh* (ازاد نامه) or patent of manumission, and a particular kind of coronet; without which, says the historian TABRI, every soldier was considered as a bondman by the monarchs of those times; خسروان لشكريرا همه بنده شمردندي. The king also gave to RUSTAM a throne made of silver, supported on golden feet.

However numerous the astonishing exploits of both heroes, always ready for any enterprise, yet each derives renown chiefly from a particular series; Hercules is most celebrated for his "twelve labours," and RUSTAM for his adventures of the *Haft Khán* (هفت خوان) or "seven stages." But it is not solely in great exploits or important circumstances that a conformity so often appears; we have already seen it in acts comparatively trifling, and the mention of one more will here suffice, though many others might be related that equally evince it; Hercules with a single stroke of his fist killed, at a banquet, Eunomus, or Eurynomus(46); and RUSTAM being present at a banquet, with one blow of his fist dislodged the soul from the body of ZENDEHRAZM (زنده رزم) as we read in the *Sháh námeh:*

تهمتن يكي مشت بر كردنش بزد در زمان رفت جان از تنش

A conformity might also be shown even in some negative

(46) Κονδυλω παισας απεκτεινεν Αρχιτελους παιδα Ευνομον, &c. (Apollod. Lib. II). He is called Eurynomus, (Ευρυνομος) by Diodorus (Lib. IV) but according to Pausanias (Corinth. cap. XIII) his name was Cyathus, (Κυαθος).

particulars(47); but I must remark not only that both heroes, as it is natural to suppose, were of gigantick stature and proportionate strength, but that the Greek and Persian writers have recorded with minute accuracy of measurement, the height to which, at a certain period in early life, each had attained. In their mighty powers of drinking they perfectly corresponded; and each has been distinguished for præternatural voracity(48).

It would lead far beyond my present limits to notice many other instances of conformity, that occur in the respective

(47) It was above remarked (p. 507) that RUSTAM does not wear a shield, in the numerous pictures which I have seen; and if any gem, vase, medal, relief or other ancient monument represents Hercules with such an implement of defence, it has escaped my notice or recollection. Notwithstanding the elaborate description of "Hercules's "Shield," in a poem bearing that title, (Ασπις Ηρακλέους) and generally attributed to Hesiod, we find the hero, though furnished in other respects with armour as a Grecian warrior, (helmet, breast-plate and greaves) still using, instead of a shield, the lion's skin which he holds forward hanging from his left arm, as delineated on an ancient vase, (See Millin, Peintures de Vases antiques; II, 75).

(48) From various authors quoted by Athenæus (Lib. X) and from others, it appears that Hercules well merited the different surnames which he bore, alluding to his extreme voracity; more particularly *βουφαγος*, having, at one meal, eaten an ox. For drinking, also, he is celebrated with equal reason; his cup, the "Scyphus Herculaneus," (Senec. epist. 83), or "Crater Herculeus," (Stat. Theb. VI. 531) corresponded to his powers; for it was a sufficient load for two young men, while he could lift it to his lips with one hand (Stat. uti supr). The parallel which RUSTAM offers on this occasion, may be expressed in a distich of the *Shāh námeh*, according to some copies, which describe the Persian hero as "emptying at one draught a cup containing ten *mans of* wine; and devouring "at one meal, a whole *gúr* (or wild ass), roasted."

خورانندهٔ یک کور کردهٔ کباب کوارندهٔ جام مي دهٔ من شراب

I must observe that the *man* exceeds seven pounds of our English weight, (see p. 380, note 206). The wild ass's flesh has long been reckoned a dainty.

accounts of Hercules and of RUSTAM; and to illustrate fully each particular case with Greek, Latin and Persian quotations. Of those heroes the anecdotes are abundantly numerous, and involve more interesting and diversified matter than might, perhaps, be readily imagined. It is my intention to resume the subject in a work to which allusions have elsewhere been made (and of which the publication shall not be long deferred) concerning many obscure points of Eastern history and antiquities. For a moment, however, let us treat of Hercules and RUSTAM, not as of personages merely fabulous or mythological, but as if we believed that such heroes had actually existed, and that the marvellous stories related of them were founded on real facts. In a chronological respect it would seem, at first glance, almost impossible to reconcile them; for the death of Hercules (who had lived fifty two years) is placed by able calculators in the twelfth or thirteenth, and RUSTAM's did not happen until the fifth or sixth century before Christ([49]). But they may have been

([49]) We cannot err much in placing the death of Hercules from twenty to fifty years before the capture of Troy; for his son, Tlepolemus, whom he may have left an infant or an adult, commanded a body of Rhodians at the siege of that city, (Hom. Iliad. II). But in what year Troy was taken, though an event so memorable as to constitute an epoch in ancient history, chronologers have not yet clearly ascertained. It is dated by Archbishop Usher and many others at 1184 years before Christ; but Larcher, a very able scholar and antiquary, would suppose it earlier by eighty six years (Herodote, Trad. Franc. Tome VII, p. 581, Paris, 1802), while Clavier adduces some powerful arguments to prove it later by eighty four, placing it in the year 1100 before Christ, (Hist. des prem. temps de la Grèce, Tome I, p. 327). Between these extremes, I shall venture in round numbers to place the death of Hercules twelve hundred years

contemporary at the commencement of their careers, if we allow that RUSTAM lived above six hundred, or according to one account, seven hundred years([50]); and this allowance is to be made on the supposition that under the name of RUSTAM many generations of an heroick family are comprehended. Thus the Persian writers, unable from a penury of authentick materials to fill up certain intervals in their early history, often assign the actions of a whole dynasty to its founder or most illustrious member whose life they accordingly protract beyond the natural duration([51]). We must also consider that the Greeks have dignified their own Hercules, (of Thebes in Bœotia) with the fame of exploits performed by different personages celebrated under that name; the Tyrian or Phœnician, Egyptian, Indian, Phrygian, Roman, and others,

before our era. RUSTAM died while the throne of Persia was still occupied by Darius son of Hystaspes, as we call GUSHTA'SP (گشتاسپ) who reigned from the year 521 to 485 before Christ; between these dates we may place the death of RUSTAM five hundred years before our era.

([50]) See a passage from the *Sháh námeh* quoted in p. 147. One copy of that work by a mistake of the transcriber has *sísad* (سیصد) three hundred, for *shish sad* (ششصد) six hundred; but five copies read six hundred; and one (a very fine MS.) seven hundred. From the first year of MINUCHEHR, under whom RUSTAM was born, till the last of GUSHTA'SP, under whom he died, so many centuries elapsed that, in accordance with the chronology of the *Sháh námeh*, RUSTAM must have lived between six and seven hundred years.

([51]) Thus the reign of king ZOHA'K comprehends the lives of ten individuals each of one hundred years, and eight bearing that name; as M. Anquetil remarks, (Zend. Tome II. 417, note 6). It is the same with respect to JEMSHI'D and FERIDU'N; each name, in fact, expressing a dynasty; "Cette observation," adds he, "peut aider à "eclaircir l'Histoire des anciens Rois de Perse."

between whom were considerable intervals of time; the Theban being least ancient, according to Vossius (De Idololatria) who discovers in some of them a resemblance to Joshua and Samson; and even to Esau and Jonas([52]); but he believes that in a physico-theological sense Hercules was the sun, one of the most ancient symbols of the divinity, his twelve labours alluding to the Zodiacal signs. That this was an opinion of some antiquity, we know from Porphyry and others, besides Eusebius by whom it is ridiculed. Some late ingenious writers also have entertained it; such as Court de Gebelin, Bailly, and especially Dupuis, whose specious and elaborate system has been ably criticised by Mr. Ouvaroff in a recent publication, proving that from all writings anterior to the Christian era, Hercules appears in popular worship no other than an historick personage([53]). But Mr. Ouvaroff does not

([52]) The identity of Hercules and these scriptural personages may be much more readily believed than Bergier's opinion of the Theban hero, whose history, he says, is merely an ill-understood topography of several provinces in Greece, or other parts of the world. "Son histoire est une topographie mal entendue de plusieurs cantons "de la Grèce ou des autres parties du monde," &c. (Origine des Dieux du Paganisme, Tome II. p. 359, Paris 1774); and Hercules is a dike or mound which turns the course of streams, forms canals, &c. See also the different opinions entertained respecting Hercules by Leclerc, Banier, Pluche, Bryant, &c.

([53]) "Dupuis auroit sans doute desiré trouver une autorité quelconque, au moyen "de la quelle il eût pû prouvé qui dès l'origine du Polytheisme, Hercule avoit été con- "fondu avec le soleil; malheureusement pour son systeme de toutes les autorités qu'il "entasse pas une n'est antérieure a l'Ere Chretienne." "L'Hercules Grec ne fut jamais "dans le culte populaire qu'un personnage historique." "En disant qu' Hercules est "un personage historique nous ne nous engageons pas a prouver qu'il ait effectivement "existé." See the "Examen Critique de la Fable d'Hercule, commentée par Du-

think it necessary to suppose that such a personage ever really existed. I am willing to go one step farther; and believe with M. Larcher that the Grecian Hercules (however his exploits may have been exaggerated) is not by any means an imaginary hero(54); I would also believe with Sir William Jones that RUSTAM was a general in the service of some ancient Persian king(55); he would assign him to the age of CAI KHUSRAU or Cyrus, with whom, it must be allowed, the history of Persia almost commences, according to our writers; but on the principle above noticed, it is possible that the name of RUSTAM may have represented several generations of a warlike family anterior to Cyrus, the exploits of many chiefs being ascribed to one; thus the Egyptian, Tyrian or Indian Hercules contributed to form the Theban who was

"puis," published by M. Ouvaroff, President of the Imperial Academy at St. Petersbourg; and extracted from the Memoirs of that learned body, in a quarto pamphlet, for private distribution; this interesting extract, printed a few months ago (1820) has only reached me since the present article was sent to press, but sufficiently in time to confirm my opinion that the most ancient Greeks did not identify Hercules with the sun.

(54) "L'Hercules Grec n'est point un hèros imaginaire; Les Historiens comme les "poëtes, les Philosophes comme les Orateurs attestent tous, d'une voix unanime, son "existence. Les principales et les plus illustres Maisons de la Grèce, non seulement le "regardent comme la souche d'ou elles sont sorties, mais encore elle remontent jusqu'a "lui par une filiation suivie. Si la Fable lui a attribué quelques exploits trop mer-"veilleux pour être crus, ce n'est point une raison pour revoquer en doute qu'il ait "paru en Grèce un heros, fils d'Amphitryon, que ses grandes actions ont immortalisé," &c. "Essai de Chronologie," annexed to Larcher's Herodotus; (Traduct. Franc. Tome VII, p. 343, Paris, 1802.

(55) "*Rostam* was, certainly, a commander under Cyrus;" (Short History of Persia, prefixed to Jones's life of Nadir Shah, p. xliii, Lond. 1773).

deified in Greece; while among the Persians whose religion would not admit such an apotheosis, RUSTAM was merely celebrated as a model of perfect heroism. Though several minute points of conformity besides those above stated might seem to prove the identity of Hercules and RUSTAM; yet I regard these personages as wholly distinct; and to account for such coincident particulars can only suppose that the Greeks and Persians by various modes of intercourse, especially in Asia Minor, reciprocally borrowed from each other certain anecdotes of their favourite heroes, and adapted them respectively to national character and local circumstances.

I reserve until another occasion the full authorities, here either abridged or suppressed, for all my assertions on the subject of this article; some arguments in addition to those offered by Mr. Ouvaroff, showing that Hercules was not in the earliest times regarded as the Sun(56); and some to prove that both Hercules and RUSTAM were real personages who

(56) Thus as Eusebius (Præp. Evangel. Lib. III) asks what reference can the poisoned shirt of Hercules have to the sun, or how Eurystheus, (a mortal) could impose laborious tasks upon that luminary; I would ask how Hercules, if himself the sun, could suffer from its heat, and aim an arrow against it in a transport of anger? I would observe likewise, that the most ancient writers have not exactly determined how many labours were imposed on Hercules by Eurystheus; according to some the number did not exceed ten, (or even eight); therefore could not correspond to the Zodiacal signs; and an ingenious antiquary is inclined to believe that those ten or twelve labours are an invention of the poets later than Alexander. "Il y'a donc tout lieu de croire que "ces dix ou douze travaux d'Hercules sont une invention des poëtes posterieurs a "Alexandre." (Clavier, Hist. des prem. temps de la Grèce, Tome I. p. 187).

acquired celebrity by their exploits, one in Greece, the other in Persia. It may, however, be here mentioned that from the numbers of Persians who, two hundred years ago, bore the name of RUSTAM, an accomplished traveller inferred the reality of their ancient hero(57); and we may regard those illustrious families of Greece entitled Heraclidæ who traced their genealogies up to Heracles or Hercules, as proving that the great Theban had actually existed(58). The figures generally considered, as they are called, *Naksh i Rustam* (نقش رستم) or "representations of RUSTAM," (although we know from inscriptions and comparison with medals that the opinion is erroneous) tend, I think, to evince the reality of such a per-

(57) "Questo Rostam e un heroe antico de' Persiani, molto famoso nelle loro his-"torie, per arme e per amori;" "E che non sia stato in tutto favoloso, ne è chiaro "testimonio l'esserci infin' hoggi molti e molti Persiani, per nome proprio detti pur "Rostam in memoria de questo huomo tanto celebre" (Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, lettera 15, Ottob. 1621) This name appears to have been long a favourite in Persia as much with the *Muselmáns* as with those professing the old religion; and it continues so at this day, although during the last ten or eleven centuries we find Arabian names generally affected by the disciples of MUHAMMED.

(58) See p. 519, note 54. Thus SHERIF AD' DI'N ALI traces up to RUSTAM the pedigree of a Persian chief named ISCANDER, who in 1404 unsuccessfully opposed the arms of TAIMU'R; "bravery and heroism," says the historian, "were hereditary "to ISCANDER, for it is well known that his tribe derived their origin from BI'ZHEN "whose father was KI'OÚ, and his mother BA'NU' GASHASB the daughter of "RUSTAM."

و اورا بهادري و پهلواني مورثي بود چه همشهٔ رستم که قبیلهٔ او از نسل بیژن اند که پدرش کیو بود و مادرش بانوگشسب دختر رستم This passage occurs in Book VI. ch. 21, of the history of Timur, as translated into French by the ingenious Petis de la Croix. I have here given the Persian text from a valuable MS. in my own collection, dated at *Aberkúh* (ابرقوه) A. H. 852, A. D 1448.

sonage, who in celebrity has outlived the mighty ARDASHI'R and SHAPU'R; for sculptures designed to perpetuate the glory of those monarchs are now by the multitude, esteemed memorials of RUSTAM. Tradition at this day in many parts of Persia, traces, with an appearance at least of accuracy, the marches of this hero; it indicates certain spots where, after a tremendous battle, or the pursuit of an enemy, he halted to repose his wearied limbs or snatch a hasty meal; some of those spots are marked with large stones or platforms of rude masonry, and distinguished from the other monuments that bear his name by the title of *Takht i Rustam* (تخت رستم) the "throne or seat of RUSTAM"(59). From Persians who had visited *Síestán* I learned that ruins are still shown in that country as the remains of RUSTAM's *Aiwán* (ایوان) or palace, not far from the river *Hírmand*, (هیرمند) the Hermandus of Pliny, (Nat. Hist. lib. 1. c. 23) a situation corresponding to FIRDAUSI's account; this edifice stood probably near the great mound or dike, called, after the hero to whom it was attributed, the *Band e Rustam*, and totally destroyed in 1383 by the troops of TAIMU'R, as we learn from an historian who

(59) My Persian guides through *Mázanderán* in two or three places showed me certain turns whereby RUSTAM is said to have occasionally deviated from the usual path, when pursuing some enemy. I saw also in that part of Hyrcania, one *Takht i Rustam*, of which a delineation shall be given in the third volume, and another near *Ispahán* which Sir Thomas Herbert mistook for the tomb of RUSTAM (Trav. p. 174, 3d edit); for we learn from various MSS. that the body of RUSTAM was carried to *Síestán*, and there deposited in the *Gúrábah* (گورابه) or *Sutúdán* (ستودان), the sepulchre of his forefathers.

actually attended the court of that barbarian conqueror, and has given a circumstantial and authentick report of all his desolating expeditions(60). A very ingenious traveller who lately explored *Belúchistán*, saw, towards the borders of *Síestán*, some huge square stones of considerable weight which must have been brought with much cost and labour from the

(60) When the imperial camp, says he, was pitched on the banks of the river *Hírmand* (لب اب هیرمند) TAIMU'R'S victorious troops like an earthquake caused "the "*Band* or dike of RUSTAM to shake so that its fastenings came asunder, and it was, "besides, so completely ruined that not even a vestige of that ancient monument "remained."

لرزه بر بند رستم افتاد چنانچه مفاصلش از هم برامد و انرا نیز خراب کرده ازان اثري نماند

So we read in the history of TAIMU'R composed by SHERIF AD' DI'N ALI of *Yezd*; I quote the Persian text from that valuable MS. above noticed, (p. 521, note 28) but the anecdote may be found in Petis de la Croix's excellent French translation, (Liv. II. ch. 45). Just before the destruction of this monument TAIMU'R had plundered the ancient habitation of RUSTAM's ancestors (محلواي دستان سام) where he found many camel-loads of precious articles; the country of *Síestán* was consigned to pillage, and its inhabitants were massacred "men and women, young and old, from those of an hun-"dred years to the sucking child" as the historian tells us in verse;

تلف شد زن و مرد برنا و پیر ز صد ساله تا کودکان بشیر

But this I fear, is a truth which he might have related in prose; as when he informs us how TAIMU'R put to death an hundred thousand Indian slaves; how he flayed alive some thousands of infidels, for so are styled those whose country he invaded without any provocation; and similar atrocities which the courtly historian celebrates as acts of magnanimity and piety. It was on occasion of the massacre in *Zábulistán*, the country of RUSTAM, that "a cry arose throughout the whole region, calling on his "spirit and saying, raise thy head from the earth and behold Persia in the power of "(thy mortal enemies) the *Turánián* warriors;" this too SHERIF AD' DI'N ALI relates in verse.

رسید از بر و بوم زابلستان موي روح رستم پیامي که هان
سر از خاک بردار و ایران ببین بکام دلیران توران زمین

RUSTAM had conquered the *Turánian* armies in many battles, and slain with his own hand some of their chief heroes.

nearest mountain, and which, it was said, RUSTAM had placed there to commemorate the fleetness of his horse(61); and another traveller in the same country describes a hill of extraordinary appearance resembling a cone, and called the "wedge or nail of RUSTAM"(62). We find in the province of *Mázanderán* (where RUSTAM pre-eminently distinguished himself) a whole district named *Rustamdár* (رستمدار) to which the geographer HAMDALLAH assigns three hundred villages. The manuscript works of many old and respectable authors record the name and situation of the place where RUSTAM killed his son SUHRA'B; and of the spot (which was shown to me near *Sárí*) where he deposited his son's body before it was sent to be interred among his ancestors in *Sístán*. They indicate the plain or forest where, while engaged in the chase, RUSTAM found a beautiful damsel, who being of royal descent became soon after the wife of king ÇA'U'Ş to whom the hero had resigned her; and they even impart celebrity to all with whom he was intimately connected; mentioning the name of the castle where his mother was born; of the mountain on which his father was nursed; of the town which his brother

(61) Lieutenant Pottinger's "Travels in Beloochistan," p. 123.

(62) See the late and much lamented Captain Christie's Journal, in the Appendix to Pottinger's Travels, p. 404. He writes the name of that conical mountain in our characters, Mekhè Roostum, which according to my system of notation would be *Míkh e Rustam* (میخ رستم) the first word signifying a wedge, nail, pin, a peg to fasten a tent-rope, &c. In justice to Captain Christie I must acknowledge myself wholly responsible for the meaning here assigned to this name.

founded; of the fortress taken by his son, and similar circumstances. Thus many spots are rendered memorable as the scenes of Hercules's actions, and the vestiges of his works are described by grave historians and geographers. With respect to either hero, I can scarcely suppose that so much attention to locality could have been wasted on an imaginary personage. Several Greek authors notice objects remaining as memorials of Hercules, ceremonies still practised at the time when they wrote, and other circumstances relative to him, in such a manner as proves them inclined to believe in his existence. Of RUSTAM's not a doubt has ever been entertained by the Persians, though some (like Herodotus and Diodorus treating of Hercules) acknowledge great difficulty in reconciling various accounts, and by ingenious explanations they reduce what seems incredible within the bounds of probability. Palæphatus has been already quoted (p. 513) concerning the Lernæan hydra; he explains the fable of Geryon and his three heads; and of Amalthea's horn. Diodorus also explains different circumstances in the story of Hercules; the garden and dragon of the Hesperides; Atlas and the world, and others. Thus Persian writers resolve the monstrous *Dêves* or gigantick demons whom RUSTAM conquered, into ferocious and powerful chiefs of *Mâzanderân* or Hyrcania. The speaking bird *Símurgh* which nursed the father of RUSTAM, cured this hero's wounds, and taught him how to obtain the victory over his most formidable enemy, was no other than a learned philosopher and physician. Five hun-

dred years are at once deducted from the extraordinary age of RUSTAM, (See p. 517) by an intelligent writer of the eleventh century, who condemns as erroneous the popular tradition respecting that hero's combat with ISFENDYA'R; a prince not born for "five hundred and some odd years," (پانصد و اند سال) after RUSTAM; but, adds he, the anachronism thus originated; ISFENDYA'R feeling himself at the point of death, "as some say from the bite of a serpent, was placed in "a bed-chamber, where beholding the figure of RUSTAM "painted or sculptured on the wall he exclaimed, how fortun- "ate it would have been, if, since I must die in early youth, I "might have fallen by the hand of such a man!"(63) Pictures of RUSTAM still continue a favourite ornament of houses and of books(64); but it seems doubtful whether any of the marble reliefs now visible in Persia may be supposed to represent him; all the sculptured figures of which I have a knowledge, except those at Persepolis and the coeval struc-

(63) گويند مار اورا بزد پس اورا بر گرفتند و جايگاهي بخوابانيدند و صورت رستم ديد بر ديوار نقش كرده گفت چه بودي كه چون ببرناي مي بايد مردن بر دست چنين مردي كشته شده بودمي

(SEHEM AD' DI'N in his rare work the MS. *Nuzhat Nâmeh Eláyi*).

(64) Especially copies of the *Sháh námeh*. In one of these I have seen an extraordinary picture illustrating that passage which describes the effigy made of silk (حرير) and stuffed with fine fur (موي سمور), to represent RUSTAM when an infant; the figure held in one hand a great club or mace; and on the arm (which may remind us of the first danger that threatened Hercules) was painted a formidable serpent or dragon; ببازوش بر اژدهاي دلير Some parts of the description to me seem equivocal or perplexed; at least in the five copies which I have most particularly collated; but an examination of such difficulties must not here be undertaken.

tures at *Máder i Suleimán*, are evidently later than the age of RUSTAM, even if we allow him to have been the antagonist of ISFENDYA'R. That his combat with a monstrous demon might have been expressed on some of the portals at Persepolis was, I once thought, not improbable(65); but the arguments in favour of this opinion, and others more numerous against it, would lead to a discussion not suited to my present limits; indeed this article occupies already a greater space, by double, than was intended for it at the beginning; yet that the subject is not exhausted will be manifest to a reader of the *Sháh námeh* alone, in which stories of RUSTAM are thickly scattered through the course of sixty thousand lines, or about half of that stupendous work; other manuscripts almost as ancient and much more rare, afford numerous anecdotes of the Persian hero; but between him and Hercules the parallel of which I have barely sketched an outline, could only be rendered complete by extracting passages from almost every ancient author of Greece and Rome; historians, geographers and mythologists, heroick, epick, tragick and comick poets.

(65) See a short article "On the antiquities of Persepolis," published, at an early period of my acquaintance with Eastern literature, in the "Oriental Collections," Vol. I. p. 167; and signed P. D. V.

No. XIII.

Alexander and the Tomb of Cyrus.

A section from my inedited work on the history of Alexander, composed eleven years ago, (and mentioned in p. 102), should have been here given entire, had it not proved on revisal too long for insertion in this volume, already more bulky than the former. I therefore at present lay before the reader merely a notice of that section, which, describes Alexander's visit to the Tomb of Cyrus; and compares such particulars of this memorable transaction as the Greek and Roman authors have recorded, with all that can be collected from Oriental manuscripts; those, at least, which have fallen under my inspection. In the Persian accounts of SECANDER (سکندر) or ISCANDER (اسکندر) tracing the hero from his cradle to the grave, many anecdotes agree with our classical relations; others are dubious yet not altogether unworthy of investigation; and some are absolutely fabulous. But my present limits restrict me to the notice of one circumstance, respecting which NIZA'MI is the only eastern writer whom I shall quote. This eminent poet of the twelfth century, declares that he founded his *Secander Námeh* or "Book of Alexander," on authentick records of the Greeks and Jews, as well as on volumes written in the *Pahlavi* or ancient Persick language; and this boast, though he has often blended fable with real history, is partly justified by

many passages in his account of that conqueror's visit to the tomb of CAI KHUSRAU or Cyrus. For we discover a sepulchral chamber or cavern towards which the path was rugged, dark and narrow, رهي سوي ان رخنه تاريک تنگ; yet, by his sovereign's command, BOLI'NA's (بلیناس) or Apollonius entered it, but not without much difficulty. It appears to have been situate within the precincts of a castle or near one; in which were preserved the deceased monarch's throne or seat with golden legs or pillars *takht zarín sutún* (تخت زرین ستون), his cup or goblet *(jám* جام), and golden trays or tables (خوان زر) such as were used at banquets. And having viewed the throne, طلسمي بران تخت فرزانه ببست SECANDER caused the sage BOLI'NA's to fix upon it such a talisman as might preserve it from violation(66). Some passages in NIZA'MI's description might seem to indicate Persepolis as the site of CAI KHUSRAU's

(66) From Arrian (VI. 29) we learn that the entrance into Cyrus's tomb was so narrow that a person, even of moderate size, could not enter without considerable difficulty, (*ως μολις αν ενι ανδρι ου μεγαλω, πολλα κακοπαθουντι παρηλθειν*). See also Strabo (XV). Pliny and Solinus place the tomb within a castle; it contained a golden throne, a couch or bed with golden feet, and a table with cups; (See the *πνελον χρυσην*, the *κλινη* having golden feet *ποδος χρυσους*, and the *τραπεζα* of Arrian; the *τραπεζαν συνεκπωμασι* of Strabo, and the "solium in quo corpus jacebat" of Curtius (X. I. 32). Some would suppose this (the greek *πνελος*) to signify rather a chest or "sarcophagus" than a throne; but the *κλινη* or couch with golden feet sufficiently answers to the *takht zarín sutún* of NIZA'MI. This poet relates that BOLI'NA's was sent by SECANDER to explore the tomb; Aristobulus declared that he entered it by the king's command; *παρελθειν εισω φησιν Αριστοβουλος κελευσαντος του βασιλεως* (Strab, XV). In that talisman which at SECANDER's desire was fixed upon the throne of CAI KHUSRAU to save it from violation, we may trace Alexander's royal signet (*το σεμειον το βασιλικον*) which by his order, and for the same purpose, Aristobulus impressed on the door of Cyrus's tomb, as Arrian tells us; (VI. 29).

tomb; that poet however assigns it to a northern province; and supposes it guarded by flames and watchful dragons; but I cannot here examine the fabulous part of his account; like every Eastern writer concerning the Macedonian hero he confounds, in a strange manner, true history with fiction; indeed, as a French author has remarked, there is an air of romance even in the genuine narrative of Alexander's life(67). Among the oldest Persian anecdotes of his extraordinary career, are those which on a hasty perusal might well be attributed to the poetical imagination of FIRDAUSI; but as we have found a story no less marvellous current in the fifth century, five hundred years before it was versified by that illustrious bard (See p. 508); so a latin work lately published, of the fourth or perhaps the third century, as its learned editor has satisfactorily proved, relates in prose the very same fables of Alexander which, six or seven hundred years after, are repeated in the rhymes of FIRDAUSI. I allude to the history of Alexander by Julius Valerius(68); but to this writer we cannot ascribe the invention of those fables, for it is ascertained that his work is merely a translation from one composed in Greek by Æsopus, who most probably was

(67) "L'Histoire d'Alexandre toute vraye qu'elle est, a bien de l'air du Roman," Saint Evremont, Dissert. sur le Grand Alexandre.

(68) "Julii Valerii Res gestæ Alexandri Macedonis, translatæ ex Æsopo Græco, "prodeunt nunc primum edente notisque illustrante Angelo Maio, Ambrosiani Colle- "gii Doctore," printed at Milan, 1817, with the "Itinerarium Alexandri," both from MSS. preserved in the Ambrosian Library of that city.

of Alexandria though in what age does not appear. It is natural to surmise that from one or other of those writers FIRDAUSI may have borrowed his fabulous anecdotes of Alexander. I am inclined, however, to believe that about the first or second century they passed in their Eastern dress, from Persia into Egypt, and were thence transmitted successively to Greece and Rome, through the medium of Æsopus and of Julius Valerius, and that in the tenth century FIRDAUSI found them among the same traditions and *Pahlavi* records which furnished him with the story of RUSTAM. It may however be suspected that some of the fables related of Alexander by Julius Valerius, Joannes Malala, Cedrenus and others, are amplifications and embellishments, perfectly Oriental, of ill-understood passages in the classical history of that hero; and some are already traced to that source in my work above announced as nearly ready for publication.

No. XIV.

References to Plate XLI, illustrating Persepolitan Antiquities.

THE first No. of this plate, a ground-plan of "Jemshíd's "Throne" is explained in p 234, and the subsequent pages. Nos. 2, 3, and 4, represent the gate-way and quadrupeds sculptured on it, see p. 235, 246. No. 5, the grand stair-case, p. 244, also p. 233 and 234. No. 6, columns, p. 258 The perfect capital restored from remains of seve-

ral by Chardin, Le Brun and Niebuhr. No. 7, door and window, p. 279, with a pillar, of one solid stone, bearing an inscription in the cuneiform or arrow-headed characters. The window-frame exhibits three lines of which, (in No 21), accurate copies are given. No. 8, a pilaster with sculptured figures, p. 279, also 255. No. 9, hands and daggers, see p. 249. No. 10, a shoe; p. 255. No. 11, ornamented border of a stair-case, p. 255. No. 12, Lotos, p. 255. No. 13, three spear-heads, and the lower end of one spear, p. 255. No. 14, two extraordinary objects near the footstool of a king, p. 255, 279. No. 15, Mithraick Symbol, p. 255. No. 16, sculptured device on seven different tombs, p. 267, 268. No. 17, Fragment, p. 256. No. 18, Medal, p. 250. No. 19, front of a tomb, p. 266. No. 20, Capital, p. 267, also 258. No. 21, Inscription, p. 257. The same inscription, comprised in three lines, as here placed, occurs on several window-frames; see No. 7. Respecting the two objects delineated in No. 14, and as they appear placed before the king, in No. 8, it may be remarked that Chardin (Tome IX, p. 88, Rouen, 1723) supposed them "des cassolettes pour les suffumigations," or a kind of censer; and Le Brun thought that perhaps they were vases for perfumes, (Voyages, p. 275, Amst. 1718); both opinions to me seem highly probable; yet I sometimes fancied that those objects might represent the altars on which a portion of the sacred fire was carried in royal processions, kindled occasionally from that flame to which the Magian priests attributed a

celestial origin, (See Xenophon, VIII; Curtius, III, 3, and IV, 14; Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII, &c). Those altars were of silver; "Ignis quem ipsi sacrum et æternum vocabant "argenteis altaribus præferebatur," (Curt. III. 3 9); indeed they would seem little more than "candelabra" or λυχνοι; and among the lamps preserved in various cabinets we find some of a form nearly similar. Tzetzes mentions the Persian λυχνοκαιας, (Chil. III. 66); and from Plutarch (in Numa) we learn that the fire which according to its name (πυρ ασβεστον) should have been eternal, was extinguished in the "sacred lamp" at Athens under the government of Aristion; επι τηϛ Αριστιωνος λεγεται τυραννιδος αποσβεσθηναι τον ιερον λυχνον. If their portable altars were made of silver by the Persians, we may suppose them to have been, for the sake of lightness, chiefly hollow; so probably were the two golden altars which one priest (of another nation) was able to carry, as we read in a passage which with medals, gems, and other remnants of antiquity shall be hereafter adduced to support my conjecture. Our Persepolitan lamp-altars agree in numbers and juxta-position with those large masses of hewn stone on which the sacred fire once glowed near the place now called *Naksh i Rustam* (See them delineated in Plate XLVIII. fig. 4). It may, perhaps, be objected, that the lamp-altars do not exhibit any appearance of flame; but I would suppose the consecrated materials in them to be guarded from accidental contamination by a cover attached to the shaft of each with a small chain; and removed whenever those materials were

to be ignited by a spark brought from some great and perpetual conservatory of the sacred fire; and it will be found that the king appears standing wherever the flame is actually represented blazing on an altar placed before him, as at the tombs both near *Takht i Jemshíd* and *Naksh i Rustam*, (Pl. XLI. fig. 16 and 19, Pl. XLVIII. fig. 6), and on various medals (Pl. LI. fig. 18; and Vol. I. Pl. XXI).

No. XV.

Miscellaneous Plate, (LV).

NUMBER 1. SAADI, and No. 2, HA'FIZ, see p. 3. No. 3, remains of the *Musella*, p. 6. Nos. 4 and 5, sculptures at the *Máder i Suleimán* near *Shíráz*, p. 41. No. 6, a *Kásháh* or spoon, p. 53. No. 7, the palace called *Takht i Kajar* near *Shíráz*, p. 60. No. 8, plan of the fire-altar near *Tang i Kerm*, p. 81. No. 9, characters or marks on a stone, p. 104. No. 10, plan of the *Kháneh i Gabrán*, p. 105. No. 11, rude sculpture on a stone, p. 106. No. 12, characters on a tomb-stone, p. 113. No. 13, stone near *Dárab*, p. 123. No. 14, remarkable stones, p. 125. No. 15, plan of the *Caravanserai Dúb*, p. 139. No. 16, sculptured head at *Naksh i Rustam*, p. 295. No. 17, detached parts of a *Pahlavi* inscription; the last word being VARAHRA'N, p. 294 and 295. No. 18, *Derákán*, p. 159. Nos. 19, 20, 21, inscriptions at *Naksh i Rustam*, p. 293. These copies will be found to differ in some

forms of letters and other respects, from those given by Niebuhr (Tome II. Pl. XXVII, F, G, H), and used by M. de Sacy, who has deciphered them in his "Memoires sur "diverses Antiquités de la Perse." According to his explanation the Greek inscription, No. 20, is a literal translation of the *Pahlavi* inscription No. 19; and (a few letters being supplied) we may read it thus

Το προσωπον τουτο μασδασνου θεου
Σαπορου βασιλεως βασιλεων Αριανων
Και Ανηριανων εκ γενους θεων νιου
Μασδασνου θεου Αρταξαρου βασιλεως
Βασιλεων Αριανων εκ γενους θεων
Εκγονου θεου Παπακου Βασιλεως.

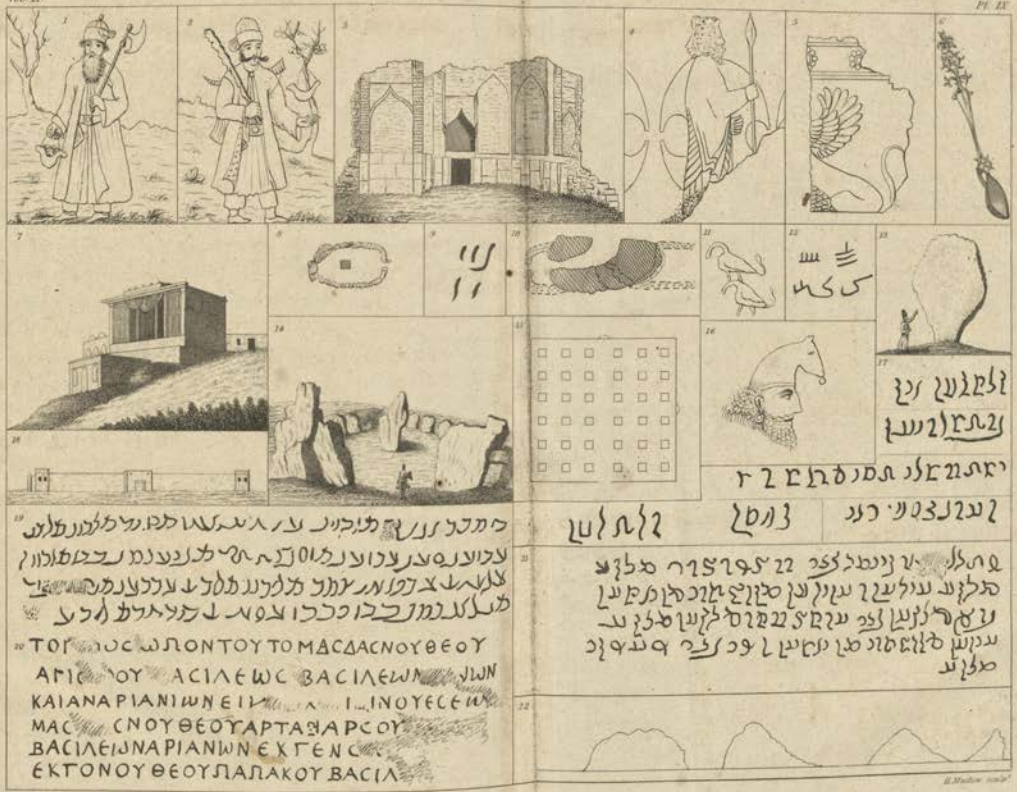
"This is the face (or resemblance) of the servant of Or-"muzd, the God (or the divine) Sapor, king of the kings of "*Irán* and of *Túrán* (Persia and Scythia), of the race of the "Gods, son of the servant of Ormuzd, the divine Artax-"ares, king of the kings of *Irân*, of the race of the Gods; "grand-son of the divine Papek the king." The *Pahlavi* inscription, No. 21, so nearly agrees with No. 19 in words, and in sense with the Greek (No. 20) above explained, that I shall only remark the *malka* מלכא placed by itself in the fifth line, according to my copy; whilst Niebuhr has given it at the end of the fourth; my copy therefore confirms the conjecture of M. de Sacy ("Memoires," &c. pl. I. A. No. 1, No. 2). No. 22, outlines of hills near *Abádah*, p. 448.

No. XVI.

Additional remarks, Corrections of errours, Omissions supplied, &c.

PLATE XXXVII, in the lowest compartment, represents the device and inscription on an ancient cylinder of porphyry, brownish red with black and whitish spots. This extraordinary gem was brought from Babylon by Captain Lockett, at whose request I have received it in exchange for that delineated in Pl. XXI. fig. 9, (and described in Vol. I. p. 424) which was originally given to me by him, and is now replaced in his collection. We have reason to expect from Captain Lockett's well-known erudition and abilities an explanation of the mysterious figures exhibited on that cylinder, especially the half-fish, half-man, respecting which I ventured to offer some hasty observations in the preceding volume.

Page 44; Thevenot describes the ruins called *Mader i Suleimán* near *Shíráz* as preludes to the Persepolitan antiquities. "I had a servant," adds he, who quaintly said "that the place containing those ruins should be called "the little or the younger brother of *Chehilmináar*;" "le petit "frere de Tschehelminar," (Voyages, Tome IV. p. 494, Amst. 1727). This form of expression is common in the East, denoting a connexion or a strong similitude and con-



W. O. del.

H. Mudlow sculp.

Miscellaneous Plate

formity, but with some shade of difference in power, size, beauty, or other qualities. If any serious reflections be excited by the well-known Arabick sentence, النوم اخ الموت "Sleep is the brother of Death;" a ridiculous contrast is offered in the Persian saying *Kaïk bráder i shipish* (کیک برادر شپش) "the flea is brother of the louse." This definition may be found (under کیک) in the Dictionary *Burhán Kátea*, which furnishes many similar instances; thus garlick (سیر *sír*) is brother of the onion. Thunder (تندر *tunder*, تندور *tundúr* or کنور *kunúr*), is the brother of lightning. The wind-instrument called *shipúr* (شیپور) is brother of the *kerrená* (کرنا) or trumpet; and a similar instrument (probably the same) named *shaughar* (شاوغر) is "the little or younger brother," (برادر کوچک *bráder i kúchek*) to the trumpet. In this manner I have heard the water-melon or *hinduáneh* (هندوانه which the Persians generally pronounce *hindooneh*) described as brother of the *kharbuzeh* (خربزه) or sweet melon.

Page 30. Although *Gahwáreh* (گهواره) is written as the word was pronounced and explained to me, I suspect that it should have been *Gáwâreh* (گاواره) or *Gábáreh* (گاباره) which signifies a cavern or fissure in a mountain, (غار و شکاف کوه) as it is defined in the Dict. *Burhán Kâtea*.

Page 43. The Persepolitan head mentioned in the last line of note 40 is engraved in Plate XLIV.

Page 292. A medal of the Pembroke collection (Part II. pl. 77), exhibits the head of ARDASHIR on one side, of his son on the other; FIRDAUSI, having informed us that the king regarded SHA'PU'R as his *Vazir* or chief minister, thus proceeds; "and after this the die for coining silver "money was changed; likewise the die for coining golden "pieces, both great and small. On one side was inscribed "the name of king ARDASHI'R, on the other side the name "of his fortunate *Vazîr*."

و زان پس دگر گونه میخ درم — همان میخ دینار هر پیش و کم

بیک روي بر نام شاه اردشیر — بروي دیگر نام فرخ وزیر

The Pembroke medal is engraved and explained in a memoir which I composed many years ago and published in the "Antiquary's Magazine," (No. III. p. 195), with passages from TABRI and FIRDAUSI, proving the participation of empire between ARDASHI'R and his son SHA'PU'R. Of that Magazine three numbers only appeared; the last in 1808.

Page 346. The following note was accidentally omitted; it refers to the heads of slaughtered princes, collected and sent to Persepolis, and may remind us of a passage in the second Book of Kings, (Chap. X. v. 7 and 8), "And it came "to pass, when the letter came to them, that they took the "king's sons, and slew seventy persons, and put their heads "in baskets and sent them to Jezreel. And there came a "messenger and told him, saying, They have brought the "heads of the king's sons. And he said, Lay ye them in

"two heaps, at the entering in of the gate," &c. Many such heaps of heads, called by the Persians *kaleh minár* (کله منار) or "scull pyramids," have been erected in Persia since the time of ARDASHI'R to the death of that tyrant, AKA MUHAMMED, uncle of the present king. The remains of some I have myself seen, on which the human sculls appeared stuck together in a pile of clay or mortar. Herbert relates how severely SHA'H TAHMA'SP once punished the inhabitants of *Ispahán* for some opposition to his will; "regarding "neither the outcries of old men, weak women, nor young "children, in two days he put to the sword thirty thousand "*Spahawnians*, and, in *terrorem aliorum*, erected a pillar of "their heads," (Trav. p. 175; 3d. edit.) Some princes have been content to form towers or pyramids with the heads of beasts which had been killed in the chase; these also are styled *kaleh minár* or "towers of sculls." Various travellers have described one very remarkable at *Ispahán*, but Kæmpfer, by mistake, has written the name, قلم منار and translated it "Pinnata turris," or "Turris cornuta," (Amœnit. Exot. pp. 289, 291). I now give the note intended for p. 346.

It is recorded in the "*Behjet al Tuárikh*" that ARDASHI'R suspended from an edifice in *Fárs* called *Kubbah Náwús* the heads of seventy persons belonging to the families of those *Molúk Tawáyef*, or petty kings numerously scattered throughout Persia.

گویند که در فارس قبه یست که اورا قبه ناووس میخوانده اند هفتاد سر ادمي که همه از اهل ملوک طوایف بردند از ان قبه ناووس اویختند

In conformity with TABRI's account, we may suppose this *Kubbah* or cupola, at *Istakhr*; and in the best MS. Dictionaires the only meaning assigned to *Náwús* is "a "Fire-temple, or place of Magian worship;" but from some Manuscripts of equal authority (in my estimation) this word appears more properly to signify "a tomb." Castell (in Lex.) renders ناوس cœmeterium Magorum; one و in modern orthography

is generally omitted as the Dict. *Burhán Kátea* remarks. Of the work above quoted (*Behjet al Tuárikh* بهجت التواريخ "The Delight or Excellence of Chronicles)" I have never seen but one copy; that preserved among many valuable MSS. in Sir Charles Boughton's collection, always open to men of letters. It is a very handsome volume comprising, in thirteen sections, much curious history; the author *Shukur Allah* (شكر الله) tells us that he finished his composition in the year 861, (equivalent to 1456 of our era). A copy is mentioned among the Oriental MSS. of the Leyden University, and numbered 1749 in the printed catalogue, p. 480.

Page 357, (note 172). One abridgment of the *Sháh náméh* is described by Anquetil du Perron as "rare et pre-"cieux," (Zendav. Tome I. part. I. p. 536), but copies of it are now sufficiently numerous. According to the MS. before me, it was made in 1063 (or of our era 1652); M. Anquetil assigns to it an earlier date by three years. The abridger was TAWAKOL BEIG, (توكل بيک) and his patron SHAMSHI'R KHA'N (شمشير خان) governor of *Ghaznín* (غزنين); hence this epitome is sometimes called the *Mukhtesr Shamshír Kháni* (مختصر شمشير خاني). Verses from the original work of FIRDAUSI are thickly interpersed throughout this prose abridgment which occupies 343 pages in my copy, an octavo volume. TAWAKOL BEIG appears to have become weary of his task, for he condenses into twelve pages the history of all the kings who succeeded Alexander. The other abridgment, is a MS. preserved in the British Museum, and marked Hyde; Royal. 16. B. XIV. It exhibits a note written, we may suppose, by the person who sent it from Surat to Dr. Hyde, describing it as "A Chronicle of all the kings of the "Persees," and adding "This is a most excellent booke, and "not to be gotten here amongst them. I got it from our

"worthy President Mr. Aungiers. The learned Herbert "was very loath I should part it before he had taken a cop- "py of it; but it could not be done, our ships being so near "yr departure;" (Mr. Aungier is mentioned in Fryer's Travels, p. 65). The value set on this abridgment by Dr. Hyde who styles it "rarissimus liber," (in his Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.) probably before he had compared it with the original *Sháh námeh*, induced me, when a young Orientalist, to transcribe the whole volume, and from it I extracted some stories in the "Oriental Collections." The *Pársí* abridger informs us (in his preface) that he undertook to reduce into prose the sixty five thousand distichs of FIRDAUSI's poem, by desire of "Captain Mister Aungies" کپتان مستر انجس, (or as it appears in some wretched verses near the end, Mister *Angeman* انجمن) chief of the *Ingrízián* (خداوند انگریزان) or English, who rewarded him with an hundred rupees (صد روپیه) besides a *Khelaat* (خلعت) or dress, &c. Yet his task was not performed judiciously; he has omitted many important circumstances "lest the reader should get a head-ache;" and introduced some stories from authors later than FIRDAUSI. Still this abridgment like the former, may be considered valuable; but such an outline of the *Sháh námeh* as would satisfy me, must be the work of an European.

Page 404. The following passage from the MS. *Zeinet al Mejáles* (composed about the year 1590) was omitted;

و در این ایام بغیر از قلعه اصطخر و قریه میرخاصکان که قریب صد خانه در و باشد چیزی دیگر از ان شهر معمور نمانده "and at this time, besides the

"castle of *Istakhr* and the village of *Mírkhásgán*, which con-
"tains about one hundred houses, no part of that city (*Istakhr*
"or Persepolis) remains inhabited." (The name of *Mír-khásgán* is now generally written *Mírkhuástgán*, as in p. 187).

Page 344 and 410. Note omitted. The *Darnevisht* or ancient library at Persepolis corresponds to the house of rolls, or records (בית ספריא), mentioned in the first book of Esdras, (chap. VI); from which it would appear that the Persian kings had allotted some part of the royal palace or perhaps a distinct edifice, for the preservation of important writings in each of their great capitals, Babylon and Ecbatana. The library seems almost confounded with the treasury (בית גנזיא) and the "books of treasures," (ספריא די גנזיא) may be supposed inventories or catalogues of precious articles; such as the modern Persians call *Ganje námeh* (گنج نامه) or "treasure-lists;" a name which they often give to inscriptions cut, in unknown characters, on rocks, or among ruins, and which they think, if deciphered, would indicate much hoarded wealth. See the treasures in p. 410.

Page 452. Note omitted. As an expression of contempt the word *Sag* سگ (signifying "a dog") is now generally applied to Christians by the Persians, and among themselves, as equally contemptuous, *Kurmsák* قرمساق, is in very frequent use. Both appear to me opprobrious terms of no mean antiquity; for I suspect that *Sag* and *Kurmsak* are the *Sakæ* and *Khorsaki* mentioned by Solinus, those barbarous words being probably latinized from an imperfect apprehension of their sounds. "The Persians in their language" according to this author, "call the Scythians *Sacæ*, and in return the Scythians call them *Chorsaci*." "Scy-
"thas Persæ lingua sua Sacas dicunt, et invicem Scythæ Persas *Chorsacos* nomin-
"ant." (Solin. Polyhist. XLIX). I here follow that reading which the learned Saumaise and Bochart have adopted; though in some copies of Solinus's text, for *Chorsaci* we find *Chorsari;* thus indeed the name is written by Pliny, whom, as usual, Solinus partly copies. "Ultra sunt Scytharum populi. Persæ illos *Sacas* universos
"appellavere à proxima gente, antiqui Arameos Scythæ ipsi Persas, *Chorsaros*." (Plin. Nat. Hist. VI. 17). Pliny's authority respecting the *Sacæ* was evidently Herodotus who says (VII. 64) Οι δε Περσαι παντας τους Σκυθας καλεουσι Σακας. "The
"Persians denominate all the Scythians *Sakæ*." Both *Sacæ* and *Chorsaci*. (or *Chorsari*) have generally been regarded as national denominations; the first, I believe, who attributed to them any opprobious meaning was Bochart, and he offers a conjecture respecting only *Chorsaci* which, in his opinion implied that the Persians would

fly from the *Sacæ* or Scythians (Geogr. Sacr. Phaleg. IV. 10), and Dr Hyde derives *Sacæ* from ساقي *Sáki* signifying "a cup-bearer," and alluding to the excessive indulgence of northern nations in drinking wine; (Peritzol. Itin. Mund. cap III. note 8). This word, however, as Hyde acknowledges, is Arabick; still I am willing to suppose that it was used, though not as a term of disgrace, among the ancient Medes and Persians (See the σακας οινοχοος in Xenoph. Cyrop. I. 11). But according to Solinus we must seek the derivation of *Sacæ* in a Persian word; and here *sag* (a dog) presents itself, as a most ancient expression of contempt, like the Hebrew כלב; "And the "Philistine said unto David, am I a dog, that thou comest," &c (I Sam XVII 43) "After whom dost thou pursue, after a dead dog?" &c. (I. Sam. XXIV. 14). "And "Hazael said, But what! is thy servant a dog?" &c. (II. Kings VIII. 13). "A shame-"less woman shall be counted as a dog." (Ecclesiasticus, XXVI. 25), &c. According to Solinus, also, *Chorsaci* was a Scythian word; now *Kurmsák* is a term borrowed by the Persians from their *Turcmán* or Scythian neighbours; and (as a man of letters at *Tehrán* wrote the explanation of it in my pocket-book) would signify like the word *kaltebán*, one who for a bribe connives at or promotes the infidelity of his own wife. قرمساق بمعني قلتبان امده‌است يعني كس زن خودرا اجرت گرفته پيش مردم بيگانه مي برد

According to my original design this volume should have been published in the course of last year (1820); but he who undertakes a work so extensive and of a nature so diversified cannot always calculate with certainty on the operations of a provincial press, whatever advantages may arise from its proximity to his residence; for interruptions of days and even of weeks are caused by such difficulties as in the capital would be scarcely felt and might be instantly removed. The typographical execution of this volume was for a while delayed by the death of Mr. Hughes the printer, when several sheets had passed through his hands; and it was also, by my own desire, occasionally suspended while I waited for certain books recently published or announced for publication on the continent, and from their titles promising information on

subjects to me highly interesting. But many of them have disappointed my expectations; and others have not yet found their way to my retreat. Ignorant therefore in what degree some of the continental writers may have anticipated me on particular points, I can only assure the reader that it is my intention to acknowledge and correct, at the close of this work, whatever errours may be detected in opinions, translations, and references, as well as in mere typography.

Of the Oriental MSS. procured at *Shíráz* I intended that this Appendix should have contained an account; but they shall be described with those purchased at *Ispahán* and *Tehrán*, in the last portion of my work; for this also are reserved some geographical, antiquarian, philological and miscellaneous notices to which references have been made in the present and preceding Volume.

My obligations are already acknowledged to Colonel D'Arcy for the views engraved in Plates XXVII and LI; and to my brother Sir Gore Ouseley for the drawings of Plates LII, LIII and LIV. I may perhaps be excused for stating here the assistance contributed by my own sons; the eldest (William Gore Ouseley, now attached to our diplomatick mission in Sweden) made the drawing of Pl. XLIV, and of some figures in Pl. XLV; the second, (John Ralph Ouseley, a Lieutenant in the East India Company's service) imitated by wood cuts many sentences or words in characters to represent which metallick types could not have been procured without considerable delay. For other wood cuts I am indebted to Mr. Evan Prosser, a young artist whose typographical ingenuity is sufficiently evinced in the numerous quotations from Arabick, and Persian, as well as other languages, foreign and ancient, by him alone arranged for the press; through which, indeed he, principally, has conducted these two volumes.

END OF VOL. II.

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